

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOL. 109, NO. 6

NEW YORK, MONDAY, AUGUST 9, 1943

NUMBER 1497

War and Revolution

IN ITALY the basic social truth is being illustrated that war dissolves in revolution, especially in defeated nations. What happens from day to day may differ according to special circumstances, but in general the course of events is bound to be typical. Italy is of immense importance, not merely in itself, but as a prototype of what is likely to happen in the Balkans, in Germany, even in the Axis-occupied countries, and hence in Europe as a whole.

It is well to remember the first principles of political power, which appear in all their crude simplicity at such times. Government rests ultimately on the will of the people. This will can be held in check only by armed force. Whatever careful plans are made by statesmen, generals or lords of the church count for nothing unless they are supported either by the people or by a well disciplined police or army. In a revolutionary crisis, the bulk of the armed forces merge with the people; statesmen, generals and lords of the church must follow the people or lose power.

The people and soldiers of Italy want peace and an end of foreign domination. Before this intense desire, fascism, which did not want either, was swept away. But those who assumed the authority to sweep it away were afraid of the popular will; they wanted to extract concessions from the invading armies as the price of peace. As long as they delay, therefore, they can be kept in power only by the bayonets of a foreign army—the occupying Germans.

Force of circumstances makes the democratic armies allies of the peoples of Europe against both their German and their domestic oppressors. Badoglio cannot throw the Germans out of Italy. The House of Savoy cannot do it. Only we can do it. Therefore, whether we like it or not, we are the allies of revolution in Europe. When we have liberated the European peoples, we must let them govern themselves in any way they choose. We must either do that, or substitute our own bayonets for the Germans' in supporting rulers whom the people do not want, and we must face the inevitability of being thrown out some day by a new liberator.

There is little sign that either articulate public opinion or the leading statesmen of the Allied countries are prepared for the revolution which they are fighting to release. There is a tendency to think that having given the people freedom, we can then take it away by saying how they shall be governed, or what kind of economic institutions they shall have. We may temporarily have the armed power to do this. But if we use it, we shall have become recognized as the enemies of Europe and we shall be fomenting new wars.

This is not to say that we cannot influence the future world order, if we know how to do it. Revolutionary peoples do have leaders. These leaders gain their power because they know the popular will and place themselves at the head of the movement to realize popular desires. At the moment, the tides of war have placed us in this position. We can, if we have the

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PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1943, IN THE U.S.A. BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879

PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

imagination and wisdom, follow through by fulfilling the promises of the course we have chosen. This is a revolution, not merely against German domination, and not merely against Nazism and fascism. It is also a revolution against the kind of world, the kind of social and political order, that spewed forth these abominations. We have the high privilege of proposing to the liberated peoples a substitute which may win their enthusiasm and loyalty.

In exercising this privilege we have been reluctant and dilatory. Mr. Roosevelt began it with the Four Freedoms; Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt continued it with the Atlantic Charter and the United Nations. But across this emblazoned symbol we have drawn the bar sinister of expedient dealings with fascists and conservatives like Pétain, Darlan and the rest. And we have abated the leadership implied in our own domestic society by compromise after compromise. We, like Badoglio, may be too constricted and too little aware of the social forces in which we move, to retain the confidence of peoples in revolution.

The next few months will tell. We have moved up to a new plateau of historical crisis. There is no longer much question that we shall defeat the Axis in war. The question now becomes whether we shall be part of the revolution to which the war gives birth.

The OWI and the King

The President roundly spanked the OWI because it quoted Samuel Grafton, in a foreign broadcast, referring to Victor Emmanuel as "the moronic little king." No doubt the OWI displayed bad manners, though one needs to know singularly little of the history of the monarch to realize that the epithet was well justified. Robert Sherwood, head of the OWI foreign service, says in effect that the State Department was to blame; every important official had gone off to the country for the week-end and when the news of Mussolini's dismissal came through at five P. M. on Sunday, nobody could be reached to indicate what line the government felt should be taken.

In any event, only a few days later the government had swung around to the OWI point of view. General Eisenhower was denouncing the present Italian government for its folly in refusing to surrender, and thus both aiding Germany and exposing Italian civilians to necessary additional raids by Allied planes. So the OWI was right the first time; it just made the mistake of being a little too soon for President Roosevelt's taste. A government agency commits an indiscretion when it makes a true statement which a superior may feel compelled to deny.

Compromise in North Africa

News from North Africa, whose reliability no one can question, says that de Gaulle and Giraud have settled their differences. Giraud is to be commander-in-

chief of all French forces. De Gaulle is to be chairman of a new Committee of National Defense, in charge of everything except military matters. When the Committee for National Liberation sits to discuss military questions, Giraud is in the chair; at all other times, it is de Gaulle; the old plan of alternation is abolished. With this development, we can see no possible excuse for further delay in dealing with the committee as the spokesman for France until a free election can be held. It has already been accepted by Norway, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Yugoslavia, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxemburg and Uruguay. Brazil is about to do the same thing. Everyone knows that Russia and Great Britain would like to recognize the committee, and are only deterred by the inexplicable and unreasonable attitude of the United States.

Riots in Harlem

As this paragraph is written a great fear hangs over New York City. There was rioting in Harlem. The disturbances started on Sunday, August 1, when a white policeman shot and wounded a Negro soldier in an argument over the arrest of a Negro woman. Crowds assembled around the hospital where the wounded soldier was taken. The false rumor spread that he had been killed. Disorders began. Special detachments of police, firemen and military police were summoned, and a full-fledged riot was under way, marked by the smashing of store windows, looting, stabbing and shooting. Six were killed, hundreds injured. What New York City, and with it the whole nation, had feared ever since the outbreak of race rioting this summer, appeared to have spread to the largest Negro section in the North.

It is too early as yet to know the exact nature of the riot. Negro leaders denied that it was a race riot, asserting that clashes among white and Negroes were only incidental to the disorders, which consisted mainly of looting. But one thing is clear—New York City, which had had the most to fear from the outbreak of rioting, had not done enough to prevent it. Harlem remained as overcrowded, as poverty-stricken as ever. Inadequate housing and the high cost of living remained as serious a set of problems as they ever were. According to a survey published last year by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the cost of living in Harlem was six percent higher than in all other comparable depressed areas. The discrepancy between income and cost of living can only have risen since then.

These are the factors which make for violence in Harlem, which have encouraged hoodlums and have set the conditions for rioting. Effective and admirable as were the many appeals which the mayor, the NAACP and Negro leaders made to the people of Harlem, it will take more than words to prevent further, and worse, outbreaks in New York City.

War Finance Imperative

The revised budget estimates for the fiscal year which has just begun confirm eloquently what critics of war finance have been saying for many months. Revealing for the first time exactly what the government is paying out to the people in contrast with what it is receiving from the people, it shows that the citizens will receive three times as much as the government will take away. Yet all of the money which the government is paying out goes for goods and services which the people as individuals cannot buy. A better recipe for inflation could not be devised. No price controls, roll-backs or subsidies can possibly stand against this pressure of excess consumers' purchasing power. The President rightly emphasizes what he said last January, and what he should have insisted upon long before this, that we must have greatly increased taxation, or loans, or both.

A minor revelation of the estimates is an answer by facts and figures to the contention that the Treasury would suffer by going on to the pay-as-you-go basis *à la* Ruml. Without any increase in rates of taxation, it will of course receive several billions more, since current income is growing, and payment reckoned on it is being received this year instead of next year. This applies to big and little incomes alike.

The Elk Hills Scandal

Eight weeks ago the President of the United States ordered his Secretary of the Navy to rescind the giveaway contract for the Elk Hills Naval Oil Reserve he had previously entered into with the Standard Oil Company of California. Eight weeks later the contract which the President ordered broken is still in force.

Rep. Hugh Peterson of Georgia called attention to this flagrant disobedience to the orders of the Commander-in-Chief last week. Secretary Knox's legal assistant, Keith Kane, when questioned on this matter, not only admitted that there has been no rescinding of the Standard-Elk Hills contract but went on to indicate that the navy did not wish to rescind the present illegal agreement, held by the Department of Justice to violate the public interest and to go beyond the Teapot Dome case in depleting public oil reserves for the advantage of corporate profit, until a new contract could be negotiated simultaneously. In other words, the navy is still holding out for a deal with Standard Oil for the Elk Hills Reserve, and its principal interest, if one is to judge from the statements of Kane, is to figure out how to go through with the original Standard deal in a manner which the Department of Justice, and Assistant Attorney General Norman Littell in particular, will rule legal.

There is no excuse for the failure up to this time to break the Navy-Standard Oil contract which the President ordered broken. The navy's attempt to postpone

rescission until a new contract is formulated is inexcusable. While they delay, Standard is pumping oil which belongs to the United States out of the United States Naval Oil Reserve at Elk Hills. We can't get that back. It is up to the Attorney General to crack down on those navy lawyers who are playing Standard's game.

Teapot Dome No. 2, which the public had thought overturned, is evidently still boiling.

Communists and the ALP

Readers of The New Republic in New York City who are enrolled members of the American Labor Party will have an opportunity to vote in an important primary on Tuesday, August 10. The essential question is whether the party throughout the city of New York is to come under the control of the Communist Party. The Communists, who lost their place on the ballot in New York State several years ago by failing to record the necessary 50,000 votes, are trying to take over the American Labor Party instead. Many of their best known members have registered in the party, though this constitutes moral if not technical perjury. It is obvious that no progressive could conscientiously remain in a party controlled by the Communists. At the moment, they are supporting the war effort; but no one can tell what absurdities they may be forced to swallow at any moment because of the wild gyrations of the party line. We hope our readers will vote for the so-called right wing, which is right only in nomenclature and is in fact the only true left-wing political body of importance in New York.

Inflationists, Inc.

Henry Wallace is not the only liberal leader who has recently had the courage to stand up in meeting and point out the people's enemies in this country. Wallace called them our "American fascists." President James G. Patton of the National Farmers' Union has this to say about the inflationists:

Inflationist forces are attempting to put over on the American people the greatest hoax since P. T. Barnum sold



"You'll Have to Jump for It"

the Cardiff Giant. The very persons, spokesmen and organizations responsible for higher prices, inflation, present stringencies and oncoming shortages of food are today boldly stating that not they but those who supported price and wage stabilization and pleaded in vain for increased food production are responsible for inflation and food shortages. This is an attempted falsification of the record which approaches the dimensions of a Hitler lie—so gigantic that its very size might make it believed.

Who are those who are trying to make the American people swallow this perversion of the facts?

Frank E. Gannett of Rochester, New York, sometime member of the inflationist Committee of the Nation, sometime vice-chairman of the Republican Party. . . .

He is joined by certain spokesmen for various processing and distributing interests, some farm groups and a number of politicians. They have served notice that they will continue to fight subsidies and insist upon removing the ceiling from prices so that they may rise to their natural level in the open market. . . .

They had—and have—allies in fighting the Economic Stabilization Act . . . the United States Chamber of Commerce, private banking interests and John L. Lewis. Now when they see that food will soon become one of the greatest scandals of the war, they try to transfer their guilt to others. . . . This is as bold as an attempt to steal the Washington Monument.

Indict John L. Lewis?

With the question of what to do about seeking an indictment against Rep. Eugene Cox still undecided, Attorney General Francis Biddle now has another tough criminal investigation before him concerning John L. Lewis and his United Mine Workers. On June 14, Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau forwarded a report made by his Bureau of Internal Revenue to Biddle "for such action as he sees fit." The Internal Revenue report, made after months of investigation, is said to contain evidence of financial manipulations between Lewis' union and the so-called B Mine near Springfield, Illinois, which raises a question as to whether there was a conspiracy to violate the National Labor Relations Act.

That is the question which Biddle's lawyers are trying to answer. Back in 1938, the National Labor Relations Board received a complaint from the Progressive Miners' Union (AFL) about alleged collusion between the owners of this Mine B and Lewis' Mine Workers, in violation of the so-called company-union section of the NLRA, which provides for disestablishment of the guilty union when a union receives assistance from an employer in organizing his employees. It was charged then, and later reported at length in *The St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and elsewhere, that the UMW made loans of several thousands of dollars to the operators of B Mine and other mines in the area, that later B Mine closed down and finally reopened with UMW members replacing Progressive Miners, and that the UMW subsequently negotiated a contract with B Mine.

On the strength of the evidence, the NLRB ordered the company to cease encouraging membership in the UMW and to set aside its contract with the UMW and bargain with the Progressive Miners.

If action against Lewis and the UMW is to be taken, it will have to be taken quickly because of the time limits set on proceedings of this kind. In view of Biddle's recent record of slowness in getting ticklish prosecutions like the Cox case under way, it might be a good idea for Secretary Morgenthau and others to inquire of Biddle what has happened to the Internal Revenue report of June 14 and what he intends to do about it.

Roosevelt in the Old Vein

MR. ROOSEVELT no longer calls it a fireside chat, but the product is the same. The one on July 28 was more like his old self than anything we have heard in many months. The war is going well, he reported; "the first crack in the Axis has come." He again made the unequivocal declaration that "we will have no truck with fascism in any way, shape or manner" and "we will permit no vestige of fascism to remain." Fascist leaders need not think they can escape merely by resigning; and this warning the President followed up a few days later by telling neutral countries not to harbor fleeing fascist refugees. Against those who say that the war front is being handled better than the home front, the President made the effective point that they cannot be separated; that if the home front were really going badly, this would be true in the war areas as well.

For the soldiers when they come back from the war, the President made some concrete promises: (1) Several months' pay when discharged, to tide them over; (2) unemployment insurance for those individuals who can't find jobs; (3) opportunities for further education or technical training at the government's expense; (4) soldiers to be treated in regard to pre-war social security, such as old-age pensions, as though they had been continuously employed in private industry; (5) improved and liberalized hospitalization, rehabilitation and medical care; (6) pensions for the disabled.

Because of this part of the speech, Mr. Harrison Spangler, chairman of the Republican National Committee, denounced it as a political document and demanded that a Republican reply be made available to soldiers all over the world. This was another in Mr. Spangler's series of disastrous blunders which are causing many independent observers to believe that this Iowa small-town politician may by his bungling boot away the Republicans' otherwise reasonably good chance of winning the election next year. What did Mr. Spangler expect the President to say: that America doesn't care what becomes of the soldiers when they

get home again, and that they are invited to go out and build Hoovervilles in which to starve?

The President's assurance that there will be no appeasement of fascism is thoroughly welcome. All that anyone asks is that he will now force the State, War and Navy Departments to live up to it. We do not need to go over again the dreary proof that some of them have not done so in the past. The statements by five well known Italian liberals published in this issue of *The New Republic* are sufficient evidence how deep and widespread is the feeling that we are very far from doing everything we can to create a completely democratic regime in Italy, or even from keeping hands off and permitting such a regime to come into being.

Russian Warning

AT LAST THE NEW YORK TIMES has printed the complete text of the appeal to the German people that was issued in Moscow on July 21 by the National Committee of Free Germany. It proves to be a much more reasonable document than anyone would have suspected from the excited comment of radio analysts or the complaints of diplomats who insisted on remaining nameless. It does not urge the Germans to form soviets everywhere—or anywhere. It contains not a word or even a hint of a separate peace between Germany and Russia. What it does contain is a procedure by which the Germans can obtain better peace terms, presumably from the United Nations as a whole.

That procedure is simple and drastic. First, the Germans must overthrow Hitler, by a coalition of the army and the people. They must form a new democratic government willing to act ruthlessly against the enemies of democracy. Their army must retire to the borders of the Reich—although the appeal doesn't specify which borders, whether of 1933 or 1939. Thereupon they can ask for a peace that will "once again place Germany on an equal footing with other nations." But their new government must also undertake reforms at home. It must abolish all laws based on national and racial hatred. It must restore and extend the rights of the working class. It must establish freedom of speech, freedom of religion and—note this point—freedom of opportunity to acquire wealth; the Free German appeal is by no means a Communist Manifesto. It must restore property to its rightful owners and release and indemnify all victims of the Gestapo. Finally it must bring to trial and inexorably punish all those responsible for the war.

The appeal is signed by a committee composed of exiled writers—most of them Communists—former members of the Reichstag and military prisoners of different ranks, including Count von Einsiedel, a great-grandson of Bismarck's. It is not officially supported by the Russian government, but the circumstances in which

it was issued, and the fact that it received a whole page in *Pravda*, besides being broadcast over the Russian radio and scattered by Russian planes over the German lines, make it clear that this is the sort of peace the Russian government is willing to consider—if the Germans revolt against Hitler. If they don't revolt, the United Nations will impose another sort of peace, which, says the appeal, "will signify the end of our national independence . . . the dismemberment of our fatherland."

There are three realistic observations to be made about this Free German manifesto. The first is that it takes for granted that there are democratic Germans capable of governing their own country and that we can come to terms with them. In that sense it is both more generous and—we believe—more practical than most of the peace proposals that are being discussed in Britain and America. The second observation is that the Free Germany appeal is better propaganda than any statement that the British or the Americans have printed on leaflets to drop over Germany. It contains a threat and an implied promise; it appeals powerfully to German fears and hopes; and it is issued at exactly the right time, when millions of Germans are thinking about the possibility of a revolt that might shorten the war by months or years.

But in the third place, the appeal is also addressed, indirectly, to the British and American governments. The Russians have been deeply worried by our secret negotiations with the Vatican, by our tenderness toward Franco, by our flirtation with Otto of Hapsburg, by our delay in recognizing the French National Committee, and by our plans for Italy about which they imply that they have never been sufficiently informed. This new manifesto, and the committee that issued it, are both of them warnings to the West that Russia must have a voice in the peace. The Russians are sometimes hard to deal with, but we need their friendship after the war almost as much as we need it today. In this case, both their warning and their demand are justified.

Labor and the "Intellectuals"

IT IS TO BE REGRETTED that at a recent meeting of the CIO Executive Board, Philip Murray engaged in an attack upon the role of intellectuals in the labor movement. There are, to be sure, intellectuals who try to make the labor movement a proving ground for ideas which may not serve the best interests of labor. But that is true of others who make trade-union activity their vocation, whether they are business agents or presidents. The labor movement needs intellectuals to furnish it with ideas and methods for achieving its policies and objectives. One of the disadvantages from which unions suffer is the very fact that they do not have the services of men and women who have been

trained in our modern arts and sciences. The capitalist and managerial groups have had a pretty complete monopoly on the services of engineers, advocates, propagandists and administrators. Each year, big business has picked the cream of our best schools and universities and enrolled them in its employ, to devise and perfect ways and means to promote its affairs.

Trade-union leaders have sometimes expressed a hostility to intellectuals that reflects a fear of rival influences within the movement. Intellectuals in the labor movement have had to combat the distrust and suspicion of the "practical" man. Less often, the rank and file may be wary of the intellectual because he has the manners and education of the boss.

The labor movement has in the past obtained a large part of the services performed by intellectuals by borrowing them from other agencies and organizations. Government experts and individual liberals have made their work available to labor, or actually acted in the interest of labor. As unions mature, they should be able to endow themselves with intellectuals as a part of their forces just as any other important social institution does.

In the case of the Steel Workers' union, of which Mr. Murray is the capable president, we can think of no greater contribution to its maturity than the installation of a long needed educational program. For this, Mr. Murray and the steel workers need intellectuals, and there are intellectuals eager to serve.

Verboten—To Look for a Job

DESPITE A LAW passed by Congress to freeze farm workers in the counties where they have established residence, Negro and white farm workers are leaving the South in ever increasing numbers. A migration is under way which may even surpass the exodus to the industrial centers of the North and East which took place during the First World War.

The migration of farm labor is most advanced in southeastern Missouri, where cotton farming is largely mechanized. In the seven cotton-growing counties that make up the Missouri boot-heel, there were, prior to 1942, at least twice as many farm workers as could be employed four to six months a year. The average length of employment was 125 days at \$1.25 a day. Disregarding the oversupply of labor in these areas, cotton-plantation owners are doing all they can to stop the northward flow of workers. They fear that a depletion of the ranks of cotton pickers might force them to pay higher wages.

Local and state police forces in Missouri have been used to stop the migration. Truck drivers, hired to transport workers, have been arrested. Plantation owners in Arkansas have tried to keep their tenants from leaving by making them sign contracts which bind

them to the land for the duration of the war. Recalcitrants face eviction and loss of their share of the 1943 crop. Where these "yellow-dog" contracts fail, local draft boards have been impressed into service. Plantation owners promise deferment to farmers willing to remain and work for low wages. Rationing boards also cooperate by refusing to issue gasoline and tires.

These conditions may be laid directly to congressional action. Originally Congress had appropriated \$26,000,000 to supply farm labor in areas of manpower shortage. But these measures were defeated by the provisions of the Pace Amendment, which forbids the transportation of farm workers without the consent of the local county agents of the Agriculture Extension Service, in whose hands the administration of the farm-labor supply now rests. Plans developed in the Department of Agriculture for the transfer of 350,000 farm workers have been abandoned. At present the only farm labor the government is able to furnish is imported from Mexico, the West Indies and Central America. This restriction will therefore increase the oversupply of labor in the South.

Perhaps the worst effect of the Pace Amendment is the incentive it has given to plantation owners to lower the prevailing wage rate of 30 cents an hour for 10 hours of work, set originally by the Farm Security Administration. A plantation owner near Clarksdale, Mississippi, who failed to obtain workers at the rate of \$2 for a fourteen-hour day applied to the War Department for the use of Italian prisoners from a nearby internment camp. Sixty prisoners were sent to the plantation at the army rate of 80 cents a day. The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union protested this use of war prisoners, but while the union has received assurances that prisoners will not be used to compete with free native labor, so long as no steps are taken to correct the basic cause of useless labor congestion, we may expect that plantation owners will attempt to make further inroads on the standard of living in the South.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

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The Rising Tide of Progressivism

Organized Labor on the Political Front

IN A LARGE INDUSTRIAL DISTRICT of the East a liberal congressman with an all-out anti-fascist and pro-labor record was defeated for reelection last November by 3,800 votes out of 140,000 cast. He had sought and received the endorsement of all three branches of the local labor movement. In one munitions plant in his district the CIO had 7,000 organized workers. On election night a sample poll was taken of 200 of the workers in that plant. Seven had registered; five had voted!

This single example, in somewhat exaggerated form, tells most of the story of the catastrophe of last November 3. The same story was told by a Gallup Poll taken several weeks after the election, showing that the four major occupational groups had participated in the election, in proportion to their numbers, in the following order: business and professional, farmers, white-collar workers and labor.

The results of labor's apathy in 1942 were two: First and most obviously, reactionary congressmen were elected, practically by default. Second, and of at least equal significance, the middle-of-the-road members of the Seventy-eighth Congress gave little or no heed to labor's voice in legislative matters. All congressmen have in common the desire to be reelected. So long as organized labor gave no real indication that it meant business on election day, the most vigorous statements of Mr. Green and Mr. Murray, as well as the telegrams from local unions back home, were politely read and filed away.

The all-important role of organized labor in political affairs is not due to labor's ability to elect many candidates to public office. On the contrary, there are few districts in this country where labor by itself can nominate and elect its own candidates. But it is also a matter of political reality that there are extremely few districts where progressive candidates can be elected *without* the active participation of the labor movement. Progressive successes at the polls are usually due to a combination of the independent liberal and good-government vote and the labor vote. The defection of either leads to defeat.

In view of these facts, every liberal American can take heart from the pronouncements and the actions of national labor leaders in recent weeks. While it is true that these steps were taken to close the barn door after the horse had been stolen, there may still be time to apprehend the thief, along with the horse.

As has been fully publicized, President Murray of the CIO appointed a national Political Action Committee on July 7. This committee is headed by Mr.

Sidney Hillman and includes the leaders of the five largest CIO unions. It has already gone to work by holding two important regional conferences, the first in Philadelphia on July 17 and the second in Chicago one week later. The composition of the committee is in itself encouraging, because Mr. Hillman's long record gives proof that he would not accept the chairmanship of such a committee unless he were given the authority and the equipment to do a real job. Furthermore, after his period of government service which ended almost a year ago, this is Mr. Hillman's re-entrance on the national scene, as the chairman of the political arm of the CIO. For some independent liberals the composition of the committee might suggest a somewhat too unquestioning loyalty to White House political strategy, especially at a time when the President's strategy is open to serious question in terms of progressive objectives. But there can be no doubt that the committee will do an effective job that will bring results in 1944. Mr. Hillman reports that the response to his first two regional conferences has been so overwhelming that the schedule has been considerably advanced. Two more conferences are to be held shortly, one in Birmingham, Alabama, and one on the West Coast. A formal set-up will be established long before the national CIO convention in November, as was originally planned.

While the CIO was taking these concrete steps, the national AFL leadership was making similar gestures. An editorial in the very official AFL Weekly News Service of June 29, calling for "new faces in 1944" in Congress, combined with the vigorous speech of President Green before the longshoremen in New York several weeks later, would seem to indicate that the Federation will find some incumbent enemies to punish and seek a good many new friendly candidates to reward. It is not easy to reconcile this attitude with the warm welcome which seems about to be accorded John L. Lewis, nor with the generally accepted story that the AFL won its congressional victory over the National Labor Relations Board by promising indulgence to those congressmen who had voted for the Smith-Connally bill. However, the magic of the Roosevelt name in '44, and especially the activities of the AFL on the local level, should console those who fear that the AFL will go Republican at the next election, Lewis and Hutcheson notwithstanding.

The steps taken by national labor leaders would hardly be sufficient in themselves to guarantee that labor is beginning to take its politics seriously. Any labor leader of stature will confess, at least privately,

that his public pronouncements will not produce results unless they reflect the sentiments of the lower levels of his organizational structure. If proof is needed, the Lewis-Willkie maneuver of 1940 is not beyond memory. The most encouraging single fact in an otherwise gloomy political picture is that the statements made by national labor leaders have followed, not preceded, progressive local developments in most of the crucial states. Only a few of these local developments have come to public attention, but they offer the surest guarantee that American workers will be heard from in 1944.

Three main types of organization have been developing during the past few months. Some of these are statewide, some only communitywide, but they have followed three general patterns. In addition to the established American Labor Party in New York and the Farmer-Labor Party in Minnesota, there have been third-party moves in New Jersey and Michigan, and to a lesser extent in a few other states. The strong anti-third-party position taken by the Hillman Committee of the CIO will undoubtedly serve to kill off the initial third-party efforts in these states, since the AFL, except for the International Ladies' Garment Workers and a very few smaller unions, had shown little interest in them. However, it is highly significant that the efforts should have been made. The impetus stemmed largely from a combination of Socialists and a certain section of newly organized workers whose sudden political militancy is healthy if somewhat irresponsible. A fully justified dissatisfaction with the actions of many of the Democratic incumbents encouraged the third-party tendency despite the fact that most election laws make third parties impossible or impractical. Chief among these laws is that which exists in most states prohibiting any candidate from running on more than one ticket. In such states (including Michigan and New Jersey) it would be impossible for an independent party to play the balance-of-power role which the New York ALP has played so successfully in the past by endorsing liberal Republicans (LaGuardia) in New York City elections and liberal Democrats (Lehman) in state elections.

At the other extreme from the independent-party moves, there have grown up in a number of states joint committees for legislative action without specifically political or electoral purposes. The best example is the organization which came into being at a statewide labor conference in Nebraska last June. This conference, called under the leadership of Roy Brewer, president of the Nebraska Federation of Labor, recognized that "the progressive spirit for which Nebraska had long been noted [had] become extinct," set up a formal committee with representatives of the AFL, the CIO and the Railroad Brotherhoods, and instructed the delegates to proceed immediately to the establishment

of local community committees in their respective districts. It would seem inevitable that such an organization, once developed, will not remain idle in the campaign of 1944.

The most common type of organization is exemplified by the United Labor Committee of Philadelphia, which "is not a political party and shall be affiliated with no political party" but whose purposes are frankly both legislative and political, including "the endorsement of such platforms and candidates as are found to be acceptable to the committee." Since the Philadelphia committee has unofficially been accepted as the model organization which the CIO Political Action Committee will seek to duplicate throughout the country, its history is not without interest. In a formerly New Deal state, now under solid Republican control, the ULC came into being rather informally during the campaign of last November and did one of the best jobs in the country, coming within a few hundred votes of capturing the Republican stronghold of Philadelphia. Formalized at a constitutional convention last May, under the leadership of the progressive Jim McDevitt, state president of the AFL, Charles Weinstein, Joseph Feldman and Franz Daniel of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Joseph McDonough, president of the AFL Central Labor Union, and Michael Harris, president of the CIO Industrial Union Council, the ULC has the full support of all three labor bodies. Until the Republican-controlled state legislature passed the vicious Farrell bill (which is far worse than the federal Smith-Connally Act), the ULC was financed by an annual per-capita tax of 25 cents from 150,000 workers. Despite the Farrell law, the committee envisages no financial difficulties, since it will simply make its collections directly in the shops on a voluntary basis. The ULC is already making plans for the fall mayoralty campaign when it will actively support pro-administration William C. Bullitt, whose somewhat dubious record in the foreign service will not, it is hoped, be reflected in his conduct of Philadelphia's municipal affairs if he is elected.

Without taking the space to cover the country, some picture of the kind of labor political participation that has been developing can be gained from the following very partial list, in addition to the few examples already cited: In New Jersey the American Labor League is under the chairmanship of Carl Holderman, formerly of the Textile Workers and now working full time for the League, whose secretary is Samuel Colton. The Trade Union Council of the New York ALP is headed by Charles Zimmerman, vice-president of the ILGWU, Charles Kerrigan of the Auto Workers and Jack Altman of the Retail and Wholesale Workers. The "left wing" of the ALP is directed largely by Joseph Curran and Saul Mills of the New York City Industrial Union Council. The Progressive Labor

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League of Michigan (until recently the Wayne County Labor's Non-Partisan League) is, naturally enough, dominated by the Automobile Workers, with Tracy Doll as chairman and Earnest Bennett as executive secretary. In Kansas City Perrin McElroy, president of the AFL Central Labor Union, is also secretary of Labor's Democratic Club. Jake Friedrich of the Wisconsin Federation of Labor is chairman of the Wisconsin Committee for United Liberal Action which was organized more than a year ago and produced two successful liberal congressional candidates, McMurray and Dilweg, who defeated the arch-reactionaries, Thill and Johns. Dormant during the winter, it is now reviving and seeking to bring Democrats and Progressives together for a joint political program. State Assemblyman Charles Green is the active secretary.

Progressive leadership in Ohio is given by Phil Hannah and Ted Silvey, state leaders of the AFL and CIO respectively. In Cincinnati the leadership has been taken by Philip Zeigler, national secretary-treasurer of George Harrison's powerful Brotherhood of Railway Clerks. One of the strongest political units is Labor's Joint Committee for Political Action, recently established in Cleveland. Its officers include Beryl Whitney of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, chairman; John Rohrich of the Teamsters' District Council, vice-chairman; Thomas A. Lenehan, secretary of the Cleveland Federation of Labor, secretary; and Beryl Peppercorn of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, treasurer. Since its organization, the Cleveland Committee has received the additional support of the International Association of Machinists, which was, until its recent withdrawal, one of the most powerful AFL international unions.

The Philadelphia type of organization is clearly the only kind of set-up which, if applied nationally, could save the 1944 election for the administration. Consequently the twofold effort will be made to restrain the third-party enthusiasts, except where third parties are already fully established, and, on the other hand, to push the legislative committees of the Nebraska type to direct political action.

Assuming that something resembling the Philadelphia organization is successfully established nationally, or at least in the most crucial states, what will be the chief tasks confronting it? In many instances it will immediately have the local elections of 1943 on its hands. This is fortunate, because from these elections it will gain experience and strength which can be applied in the national elections a year later. Second, it will use its influence in the selection of congressional candidates for 1944. If it does this early enough, it may be possible to avoid some of the Tweedledee-Tweedledum situations of 1942 when the party hacks got away with murder, grand larceny, mayhem and all the rest. Third, it should use its full weight in the

selection of delegates to the Democratic National Convention, less than a year away. If it is bold enough, it will support only those proposed delegates pledged both to Roosevelt *and* Wallace, although it is more likely to leave the vice-presidential problem entirely in the President's hands.

Finally, and this obligation is more essential than the first three combined, it will organize American workers to register and to vote. This function should include that of insisting that the rules governing these two electoral processes are sufficiently flexible and simple to make possible the full political participation of war workers whose hours are long and irregular. It should include also the obligation of seeing to it that every voting facility is granted to the men and women in the armed forces, as was not done by the War and Navy Departments in 1942.

If American labor failed to offer a political program and endorsed no candidates—a most unlikely assumption—the mere organization of workers to register and vote would be a major contribution and would effect an enormous strengthening of the progressive forces in 1944. This was the great deficiency in 1942. This was the chief reason why the Gallup predictions went so wide of the mark. Dr. Gallup's questioners can find out with some degree of accuracy whether an individual prefers Jones or Smith, but they have not yet devised a scheme to determine whether that preference is sufficiently intense to inspire the individual to take the trouble to express it on election day. If American workers vote in 1944, they will vote for progress, in the proportion of at least seven to three.

Consequently it is a matter of real encouragement that registration campaigns have already been initiated by labor in a number of states. In Ohio, for example, the AFL and the CIO, independently but in mutual consultation, are going into the shops with posters, bulletins, individual cards and general information, all directed to registering every organized worker. Mass registrations and block-by-block canvassing are being organized under the direction of special personnel with no other responsibilities. If similar programs are carried out in all the crucial states, American reactionaries are in for a surprise in 1944.

And they suspect that they are in for a surprise, as indicated by the prohibition of labor's political contributions inserted in the Smith-Connally bill whose ostensible aim was the non-interruption of war production. Far too often in the past, liberal and labor organizations, faced with political crises, have resorted to what might be termed direct revolutionary action. But resolutions have not sufficed. This time it looks as if labor, confronted by the Seventy-eighth Congress with a fight for survival, is going to get into the political fight with both hands swinging. That at least is the one great encouraging hope for 1944 and for a decent post-war world.

JAMES LOEB JR.

The Streets of Palermo

ON MAY 15, 1796, a French republican army came marching into the streets of Milan. It was led by General Bonaparte, who was very young at the time and still devoted to the Revolution. As for the Milanese, they had been governed for 250 years by Spanish and Austrian tyrants, with the support of the Church. What happened during the next few days is described by Stendhal in the first chapter of "The Charterhouse of Parma." "A whole people," he says, "discovered that everything which until then it had respected was supremely ridiculous, if not actually hateful. The departure of the last Austrian regiment marked the collapse of the old ideas: to risk one's life became the fashion. . . . People had been plunged in the darkest night by the continuation of the jealous despotism of Charles V and Philip II; they overturned these monarchs' statues and immediately found themselves flooded with daylight." And Stendhal continues (I am quoting from the Scott Moncrieff translation):

The French soldiers laughed and sang all day long; they were all under twenty-five years of age, and their commander-in-chief, who had reached twenty-seven, was reckoned the oldest man in his army. This gayety, this youthfulness, this irresponsibility furnished a jocular reply to the furious preachings of the monks, who for six months had been announcing from every pulpit that the French were monsters obliged, upon pain of death, to burn down everything and to cut off everybody's head. In the country districts one saw the French soldier at the cottage door, engaged in dandling the housewife's baby in his arms.

The Italian Church today has a different attitude toward the invaders. But I thought of those French soldiers dandling babies (and organizing country dances, as Stendhal goes on to say) when I read how the Americans in Sicily were helping the children to milk their goats and when, in a newsreel, I saw them passing their canteens full of wine to a laughing crowd of Sicilian women. I thought of Milan in 1796 when I read how the Seventh Army marched into the streets of Palermo, where it was received with exactly the same feeling of liberation.

That feeling took a little time to develop. The first Allied soldiers in Sicily had a mixed reception: smiles and hostile looks; gifts from the villagers and snipers' bullets from the hills. John Gunther told about three sentries whose throats were cut in the darkness; there must have been others. By the second week, however, it became clear that no civilians were resisting the invasion except a few die-hard fascists, perhaps aided by parachute troopers. The mass of the population had decided that anything, even a city bombed into rubble, was a cheap price to pay for getting rid of despotism.

When the Americans entered Palermo, on July 23 and 24, innkeepers broached their hidden casks of wine. People lined the streets and pelted our men with flowers, lemons, cantaloupes and even watermelons—"But it should be emphasized," General Patton said, "that all the fruit was tossed in a spirit of friendliness." There were hundreds of uniformed Italian soldiers in the crowd. Some of them cheered and others ran out to kiss the hands of the Americans riding past in half-tracks. It was as if America was being thanked for rescuing the shipwrecked from a desert island. It was as if the whole city was shaking itself free from a nightmare that had lasted for twenty years.

Like the French in Milan, the Americans in Palermo are the soldiers of an idea and the soldiers of a revolution. The idea is not one that clearly exists in their own minds. Talk to them and they will say, as likely as not, that they are fighting "to get it over with as soon as possible and then go home." Even to the Italians, the idea is nothing so generalized as the Four Freedoms. It is simply the picture of a society where people have enough to eat, and aren't pushed around by men in uniform, and have a chance to get rich if they save their money. The revolution is that of Thomas Jefferson rather than that of Karl Marx, but in Europe today it has more explosive force than all our four-ton blockbusters.

But although it is our strongest weapon, it is ineffective when used alone. Not many Europeans will sacrifice themselves, their families and their whole communities to defend an ideal that seems to have no chance of military success. That is one of the reasons why our propaganda was almost totally wasted for a year after Pearl Harbor, when the British and American armies were taking no forward step. But when the moral weapon is supported by an aggressive military policy and by a sufficient weight of guns, it is capable of performing the only miracles known to modern warfare. General Bonaparte's campaign in northern Italy was one of these, and there are others today, though as yet they have been on a smaller scale. A cockney pilot runs out of gas and lands on the Italian island of Lampedusa. There he receives the surrender of the entire garrison. An American pilot falls into the sea off the west coast of Sicily and is rescued by four Italian fishermen. Shortly afterwards he returns to our lines with thirty-seven prisoners, including a lieutenant-colonel. Except on the Russian front, there have been few such individual exploits against the Germans, who have been protected by a political weapon of their own. But the German collapse in Tunisia was almost a major miracle, and everybody knows that its causes were moral as well as military.

In Palermo, an American soldier battled his way through a crowd of people who were pressing his hands and kissing his cheeks. He exclaimed, "Who's nuts in this crowd? I'm beginning to think it's me." It was somebody else; in fact it was a whole group of men who were thousands of miles from the fighting lines.

It was the American and British leaders who think we are fighting merely to restore the old order in Europe. It was the men who imagine that our armies are those of the Holy Alliance, not those of the American and French and Russian revolutions.

MALCOLM COWLEY

What Free Italians Think

Words and Deeds

ONE LEARNS from President Roosevelt's address of July 28 that "we will have no truck with fascism in any way, shape or manner. We will permit no vestige of fascism to remain."

One wonders what the President means by the word "fascism." If he means Mussolini, "one man and one man only," and "the symbols of fascism," it is plain that they will vanish. They are now vanishing. But they are not the whole of "fascism." "Fascism" consists of those Fascist leaders who for twenty years have been accessories to all of Mussolini's crimes. The King is one of them. Badoglio is one of them. Yet the King must remain taboo. Woe to him who scorns him. Moreover, Amgot announces that any "active" Fascist who is willing will be gladly received into the Anglo-Saxon fold. The only thing he has to do is to follow the example of the King and Badoglio and turn his coat.

In his address of July 28, President Roosevelt also announced that "Italy will reconstitute herself; it will be the people of Italy who will choose their own government in accordance with the basic principles of liberty and equality." But Amgot has stated that exiles and refugees will not be allowed to have a hand in that work. Yet exiles and refugees became exiles and refugees precisely because they had refused to betray the basic democratic principles. They have spent years in democratic countries. Their political experience has increased. They should act as co-workers in the tremendous job of Italian reconstruction. Why has Amgot put them under its ban?

No sane man has ever expected the United Nations to destroy "fascism." They are expected to win the war. By winning the war, they are creating the conditions of which the Italians must take advantage in order to destroy fascism. This is what the Italians are endeavoring to do these days, despite the King and Badoglio, with their martial law. But as soon as the Italians begin to take care of themselves and start killing Fascist bigwigs, which is the best way of "having no truck with fascism," Mr. Churchill steps up and proclaims that chaos and anarchy must be avoided in Italy. Of course, everything that is not a regular parliamentary election in the traditional British fashion is chaos and anarchy.

When they were silent and inert, the Italians were scorned because they did not revolt, and thus they showed that they were unfit for liberty. Now when they show that twenty years of suffocation have not destroyed their souls, they are told that they must avoid chaos and anarchy. They have to make the omelette without breaking the eggs.

Let the United Nations wage the war and win the war. Let the Italians take care of themselves. Let each one do his own job. Let neither interfere with the job of the other. And let us respectfully beg President Roosevelt to think clearly and act logically, that is, not only to make fine speeches but also to put deeds into agreement with words.

Cambridge, Mass., July 29

GAETANO SALVEMINI

Badoglio—and After

THINGS ARE BEGINNING TO MOVE QUICKLY in Italy, in the whole of Europe. That is why it is difficult to be dogmatic about formulas. It is probable, for example, that those Americans who protested so loudly—too loudly—against the bombardment of Rome are today not very proud of themselves. How can they deny that it is the bombardment of certain military objectives Mussolini had craftily centered in Rome that rendered inevitable the disappearance of the tyrant?

Mussolini is now nothing more than a dishonorable memory of a past of corruption, of fraud and, above all, of a propaganda enthusiastically accepted during many years in London, Paris and New York. What matters now is Badoglio and—probably—a rapid list of successors, until a firm Italian regime is created by the Italian people, not by "royal persons" who have obeyed Mussolini for twenty years.

I have known Badoglio for many years; he has been a close collaborator of mine in important international treaties. He is an able man, but he lacks the moral authority and the historical imagination which are needed today in Italy. If Badoglio goes on trying to maneuver, if Badoglio goes on trying to obtain some sort of peaceful neutrality, he is lost. And, what is more important, Italy is lost with him. The only way to save Italy is for the Italians to collaborate in the victory of the United Nations. All the secret reports I receive

from Italy—especially from my brave friends of the Action Party—assure me that the Italian nation is ready to accept this supreme necessity. War against Nazism might soon become as popular in Italy as a Crusade in the twelfth century.

Is Badoglio able to see this historical issue? No. Even with the best of intentions Badoglio cannot create the situation which will save Italy and help achieve victory over Nazism. His Cabinet is a group of modest officials, not a government able to inspire or to guide. The Foreign Minister, Guariglia, is a decent fellow; personally, I remember that he was one of my best collaborators when I was Foreign Minister. But how can we forget that, when he was Fascist Ambassador to France, Guariglia helped Mussolini most skillfully in the fraud of Munich, and in the worse fraud of Italian “non-belligerency,” until the “stab in the back” of June 10, 1940?

The most hopeful sign that comes to us from Italy is the bold awakening of public opinion even in regions where German troops are still strong.

Public opinion in America could make no worse mistake than fearing the so-called danger of revolution. This slogan was the very clever invention of Mussolini and Hitler during the years of Chamberlainian blindness. It might be fatal to repeat it now.

It is true that order and tranquillity are essential elements for a quicker Allied victory. But both aims—order and victory—are interdependent; and the best way to achieve them is an immediate campaign in Italy for joining the United States and Great Britain in a final battle against Nazism. It is not true that the Italian armies are tired of fighting; they are only tired of fighting against the interests and the ideals of Italy. But such a campaign can be led only by Italians whose past is clean, Italians who never compromised with fascism, like my friends of the Partito d'Azione (Action Party) from whom I have received the most moving messages, and like the other parties who are struggling for the victory of democracy in Italy. It is hardly necessary to add that if led by mere instruments of the United Nations such a campaign would be sterile.

We may create tomorrow in Italy, in an atmosphere of order, a sweeping enthusiasm for freedom and for war against Nazism if the corrupt and rich leaders of fascism, like Grandi, Federzoni, Volpi, Ciano (who has not yet been dismissed from his embassy at the Vatican) are at once put on trial; if complex and generous agrarian reforms are seriously promised, and if a new government comes into power with no links to a past of shame, stupidity, treason.

Of course, for supreme moral reasons concerning the necessary respect for treaties—reasons to which the Italians are most sensitive—this radical change cannot be made under a king who madly gave his signature to war against Britain and France even after he re-

ceived urgent warnings, signed by me and other Italians, assuring him that England would not capitulate, that the United States would be forced to enter the struggle for the defense of its vital interests, and that, therefore, his war would mean ruin to Italy—and to himself.

The army in Italy obeys only the nation and is ready to serve Italy in peace and war.

The moves I suggest may appear bold, but in reality they are the only ones which are both prudent and practical. American and British leaders should not forget that what happens in Italy eventually happens in the Balkans, too—which may mean a most rapid collapse in Germany. The march of a German army toward Trieste and Fiume, announced by cable on July 29, is a potential menace to Italy and to Yugoslavia. It should prove, even to the most emotional Yugoslav agitators, the truth of what I have always proclaimed: that jealousies and hatreds between Italians and South-Slavs are services rendered to Germany.

The moves I suggest cannot be opposed out of artificial longings for formalistic order. An order based on past treasons—as, to a certain extent, it is still in Italy—is not order but moral anarchy.

To sympathize with such a state of things may mean not only to lengthen the war but to create the very future disorders which some fear more than a long war.

CARLO SFORZA

New York, July 30, 1943

The People Can Wait

BADOGGIO'S CABINET is the only one that could be formed by a class in power that wants to save itself at the expense of some of its members. It is not likely to succeed. Badoglio and his colleagues are the grain between the German and Allied millstones, and are asking the millstones kindly to stop a minute so that they can extricate themselves. For that they need not only the instant coöperation of the millstones but also order and quiet at home. All three conditions are apt to be lacking. Is there another way out for Italy?

There might be, but I cannot see how the Allied governments can take it. They have been caught mentally flat-footed, as in North Africa, by actual events which cannot fit into their picture. What they need is a neutralized Italy, and the use of her facilities. The rest has to wait. But it won't wait. And so, while the Allies are looking for a government which can deliver the goods, chaos will spread and repression will grow. Whatever their good will, they cannot be bothered now with the Italian people. It is part of that mattress of peoples, as Samuel Grafton said, on which the wrestling match takes place.

Patriotic Italians on this side are trying to meet the Allies halfway by suggesting a sleight-of-hand forma-

tion of a new Italian government that should take Italy into the war on the Allied side. I do not see how the trick can work that easily. And, anyway, it would be a trick. There are many Italians who want to fight the Germans, and they should be given the opportunity through the creation of special divisions; but to railroad the Italian people into a war again, as was done in 1915 and 1940, were it even for their own benefit, means perpetuating that official attitude of "You don't know what is good for you." Worse, there is behind this offer an unexpressed idea of bargaining for colonies, territories and whatnot. It would be the same dickering that the Rome Radio is carrying on right now, and that has been carried for decades by the chain of paternalistic governments which ended in the fascist regime. The people would have to be pushed around in the selfsame game that never stops, and that is not a good beginning for democracy. If a government wanted to break the jinx and really get in touch with the people, it would have to say: "The Italian people want peace and are going to get it. Political reconstruction comes before anything else. Volunteers for the war against Germany are needed, and the Allies will assist them under Lend-Lease. We want nothing at the peace table except the opportunity to speak for those rights to which all peoples of Europe are entitled."

A government speaking like that would really be able to enlist public opinion without forcing it, and it would find a consensus among the peoples of Europe that would be highly distasteful to statesmen and diplomats. It would be promptly branded as leftist intrigue. And so, as I said, it is hard to imagine the Allies encouraging such a solution, even if it alone were capable of ensuring law and order.

GEORGE DE SANTILLANA

New York City, July 30, 1943

What Hope for Italy?

IT SEEMS BEYOND DOUBT by now that the liquidation of Mussolini and his clique, technically engineered by a trembling King, a worried Pope and some generals and bureaucrats, was actually imposed by the Italian people—by the striking and rioting of workers, by the deserting en masse of the peasants in uniform. For weeks before the crisis, the Anglo-American press barely alluded to this courageous upheaval. Now Badoglio is in precarious control of the capital, while in the industrial cities of northern Italy a fighting front of Socialists, Christian Democrats and Communists tries to give birth to an Italy of the people, fully democratic and European. Only too soon they may be caught between Hitler's Panzer divisions pouring down from the Brenner Pass, and the avowed hostility of the Anglo-American leaders to what they term "political chaos," in other words, a truly anti-fascist Europe. In a few days

Italy may be cruelly divided into a Nazi-occupied north and a Clerico-Fascist zone ruled by Badoglio, or some other successor *à la* Pétain, under the sponsorship of the Allied liberators. The awakened Italians will then be drawn into an awkward double fight. South of the Po, they will resist what, no matter how Allied spokesmen may choose to call it, will actually amount to neo-fascism, while in the north they will resist Nazism. After the latest statements of Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill, there is hardly any hope that this bloody comedy of errors will be avoided or remedied.

Hollywood, Calif., July 28.

PAOLO MILANO

Caveat Victor

I AM WITH THE PEOPLE in Italy who are now fighting the Fascists, storming the prisons, striking on railroads, refusing to obey orders given them by leaders they did not choose, asking for "peace and freedom." I am with them, whatever names they are given—"rabble," "anarchists" or "communists." I am against anybody who acts against them, no matter what words he utters. There is a revolution in Italy, and the revolution allows no other choice.

We don't know much about this revolution, but this can be said: The people, and not the King or Badoglio, ousted Mussolini; the people, and not the King or Badoglio, want "peace and freedom"; what Badoglio and the King want is a cheap get-away from the Italian people, from the Allies, and from the Nazis as well. They offer the Italians the end of the Fascist façade, the Allies a "conditional" surrender, and the Nazis loyalty "to the given word." They want to fool everybody in order to save a little bit of everything: a little power, a little empire, a little of their nonexistent honor, a little of their state. The Italian people don't give a damn for these things. As for the "continuity" of the Italian state, born in 1870, the very apostle of Italian unity, Mazzini, never recognized its legitimacy. Amen.

This is the situation in reference to which the Allied leaders have said that they don't like "anarchy and chaos." Only they know how far they are prepared to go on that line. But a revolution is helped or repressed. In the present situation repressing revolution means repressing peace, simply because the only people who want to stop fighting for the Nazis, and mean it, are the people who want revolution.

At the present moment all an anti-Fascist exile can say is that he fervently hopes that Italians will be able to pay their debt to the peoples they have wronged—the Ethiopians, the Spaniards, the French, the Greeks, the British, the Yugoslavs and the Americans—by placing themselves, of their own free will, in the vanguard of the liberation of Europe. I hope they will "not settle for less."

New York, July 31

NICOLA CHIAROMONTE

Why the TVA Has No Strikes

THE ENGINEERING ACHIEVEMENTS of the Tennessee Valley Authority have been highly publicized. Newspapers and magazines have given the people impressive pictures of its huge multi-purpose dams, electric generators, navigation locks, fertilizer factories, chemical works and what not. Even the news of its remarkably low electric rates has been carried—with minor emphasis.

But there is one "yardstick" creation of the TVA about which the conservative press and the radio have been conspicuously silent—the existence of a new labor-relations policy which has functioned so successfully in both peace and war that the TVA has had no strikes or serious labor disturbances for the nearly ten years of its existence.

This is a challenging record, which should be made known in these tense days when labor unrest is threatening maximum war production and exerting an even greater threat through legislation more interested in laying blame than in finding causes, to the very existence of organized labor. The accomplishment of the TVA would be still more challenging to the American people if it were known that from the beginning—before the Wagner Act was passed—the Authority has bargained collectively with the fifteen standard international labor unions whose craftsmen it employs, and further, that this labor policy which has produced such gratifying results was a joint affair, since it was just as much a creation of these unions as of the Authority itself.

The prime movers were Power Director David E. Lilienthal, representing the Board, and Marion H. Hedges, research director of the Electrical Workers, representing the unions. Both were socially minded; both believed the old master-servant concept has no place in a modern democracy; both were convinced that a thoroughly democratic policy would work if made and administered in good faith and if implemented with improved methods of promptly settling wage schedules and daily grievances. Each had the backing of a majority of his colleagues but also the opposition of a minority which thought their leaders were slightly dippy and that the good old mailed fist was the only real method of settling labor disputes.

Since the TVA faced a tough labor situation when it took over in June, 1933, it would be interesting and valuable to recount the history of the inception of this policy, and how labor and management experimented together in trying out newly devised techniques until their final adoption on September 1, 1935. But here we must come directly to a brief account of recent events which illustrates why there is industrial peace on the Tennessee.

Unbiased official reports on the causes of labor troubles in war plants emphasize the absence of machinery for the prompt and fair adjustment of daily grievances. But that is an old defect, one which the TVA coöperators were determined to remedy. At the start they set up a simple, effective system of a judicial character, with proper appeals to the highest authorities in the TVA. It can be put into operation by the lowest or highest worker or supervisor without fear of prejudice or reprisals. Racial discrimination is forbidden.

There was abundant skepticism throughout the ranks of management and labor when the plan went into operation. But presently two or three top superintendents—efficient men, too—were "eliminated" after trial under the new rules because they were unable to rid themselves of their old labor-boss complexes and treat their men like human beings. The rank and file of labor said, "Good lord, TVA actually means it!" Presently also some mechanics were "fired" by their own union officials for breaking discipline, whereat management observed, "By heavens, the unions mean it!"

Mutual confidence was established and the conviction grew apace that this new policy was a reality and not of the nature of campaign platforms, pep talks and pious exhortations. Result? For ten years 90 per cent of the grievances have been settled within forty-eight hours.

Another invention of equal importance for the new policy was the Annual Wage Conference. I attended the November, 1942, conference, at which time this seemingly idealistic labor policy met its most crucial test. It was not all sweetness and light, for the collective bargainers were men who had stern wartime obligations to fulfill and were working under tremendous outside pressures beyond their making or control.

Management was represented by Chief of Personnel George F. Gant, head of a "panel" of five engineer-managers, assisted by a corps of experts—some thirty in all. Labor was represented by the Tennessee Valley Trades and Labor Council composed of delegates from the craft unions with which the TVA does business. Its president is Sam A. Roper, head of the Alabama Federation of Labor. Gordon M. Freeman of the Electrical Workers is executive secretary. Some seventy labor leaders were in attendance. At stake was a \$3,500,000 monthly payroll and the 1943 wage schedules of more than 32,000 workers listed under 550 job classifications—so specialized is modern industry.

The rule employed by these Annual Wage Conferences to adjust wage scales was based on a directive written into the TVA Act by Senator Norris. It pro-

vided that the Authority should not pay less than prevailing wages for similar work in the vicinity of employment. At the first conference each side had its own set of figures, plus data from the Department of Labor. The result was that half of the time was spent arguing over what were "prevailing wages" and what was "vicinity." That nonsense was promptly ended by the creation of a Joint Wage Data Committee directed to canvass the Valley before each conference, ascertain prevailing wages and make a detailed report, the data so ascertained to bind each side in negotiations. This sensible device has proved to be the best time-saver, and peace-maker, in the TVA's history. It was mutually agreed that uniform wage rates were desirable, hence "vicinity" was held to mean the entire TVA area.

At the 1942 Wage Conference, however, the Labor Council requested in its formal brief that the "Little Steel" formula be substituted for the prevailing wage rule and that a 15-percent raise be granted to all regular "annually rated" employees. The supporting argument was the uncertainty of wartime economy and the rapidly rising cost of living. The brief noted that temporary "hourly rated" employees on war construction projects were making more money than the regular men, which was causing dissatisfaction.

The reply of the panel was read by Chairman Gant at the opening of a four-day conference beginning on November 27. Management held itself bound to obey the Stabilization Act of Congress and the Executive Order of October 3, both aimed at the prevention of inflation. The latter forbade the War Labor Board to permit wage increases above the levels of September 15 unless necessary to correct inequalities or gross maladjustments, or to aid in the prosecution of the war. The 15-percent increase was declined, but a counter proposition was made. Since the higher incomes of the "hourly" men were shown to be the result of overtime, it was proposed to increase the work week of the annually rated men from forty to forty-eight hours, with overtime pay for the extra hours. This, said the panel, would equal a 25-percent increase in income. Maintenance of the prevailing wage rule was insisted upon, but it was agreed that adjustments should be made wherever inequities, maladjustments, etc., could be shown to exist. Hence, discussions from then on turned upon these points.

Labor approved the increase of the work week on this basis, since it would increase production. In the succeeding discussions many wage rates in various classifications were raised under the new rule and inequities were ironed out.

It is impossible to give detailed figures in this space, nor is it necessary. What concerns us here is the spirit in which these negotiations were conducted within the framework of an enlightened labor policy. Naturally, there were a few men on both sides in whom the old selfish yearn to drive the best possible bargain regard-

less of consequences to others manifested itself, but these sentiments did not prevail. Back of all disputations, heated or otherwise, was a common pride in the TVA and the remarkable contributions which this erstwhile "white elephant" of the twenties, now Exhibit A of the wisdom of long-range planning, was making to the war effort; pride also in the labor-relations policy itself, hurt though it might at times. When one or two labor representatives threatened to appeal their cases to the War Labor Board at Washington they were promptly frowned down by the other labor men.

Management was equally concerned. Collective bargaining with these unions had brought labor peace, steady production, efficiency and top construction records. Good relations must be maintained as a matter of successful administration and good feeling.

At eleven o'clock Monday night, when the canvass was completed, the Council, with only one dissenting vote, agreed to accept the revised schedules with the exception of four or five minor matters reserved for later negotiation, which have since been ironed out. The conference then adjourned, the bargainers returned to their respective jobs, the non-strike record remained intact, and there have been no appeals to Washington except by the single craft union doing business with the TVA which does not belong to the Council.

Recently the War Labor Board appointed a joint committee from TVA management and labor, saying to it, in effect, "You have demonstrated your ability to settle your own labor problems. You do not need us. Go ahead and help win the war." JUDSON KING

City Park

The sun they seek unmasks their leisure, bares
Poverty in their clothing and their hearts.
The loveless cripple, the warped ancient wears
Need like a badge. The empty glance each darts
At passersby, like a child's arrow blunt
And wanton, falls, and is retrieved and fails.
Their patience does not find what it should hunt,
Where pigeons peck and sparrows flirt their tails.
They scarcely stir, sometimes their fingers fret
Their sleeves. Or they drop words like buttons loosed
From a worn thread. Here, birdlike, they forget
The world of green beyond their urban roost.
Faithful as disappointment, they come back
With the bland light that placates them and numbs,
Sharpening their shadows to a narrower black
Among the drifted leaves and few stale crumbs.
And then a cold wind rises and the sun
Falters, and they must move. Slowly they go
Along the dusty path, becoming one
With dusk, that only tells them what they know.

BABETTE DEUTSCH

Oklahoma Makes Ready for 1944

ON A RECENT TRIP from St. Louis to New Mexico, I stopped off, both going and coming, in Oklahoma in the thought that this politically sensitive border state might be raising a significant political sign for 1944. The suspicion was justified.

What I discovered is nothing less than a new act of the Democratic legislature designed to save, in so far as is possible, the skins of local Democratic nominees in the event that the Republicans win the presidential election next year—as many Oklahomans now believe.

I write “discovered” advisedly, even though this storm-cellar measure was sponsored by prominent Democrats and is now law through the approval of the Democratic Governor, Robert S. Kerr. But I found that the law’s existence was virtually unknown in Oklahoma other than in political and newspaper circles.

The new law shrewdly creates a separate ballot for nominees for seats in the overwhelmingly Democratic legislature. In creating this separate ballot it dissociates Democratic candidates for the legislature from Democratic nominees for President and Vice President and for the United States Senate and the House of Representatives. Thus, it will be impossible next year in Oklahoma for any voter who may be disposed to vote a Republican ballot of protest to put an “X” at the top of the ticket and let it go at that. Republican nominees for the legislature will not be able to ride a possible Republican wave in the presidential race.

The Democrats who sponsored this ballot-separation law made no attempt to cover up their motives. On the contrary, they came out frankly on the floor of the legislature and told why they wanted it passed. They did not hesitate to prophesy large Republican gains in Oklahoma in 1944. They said in substance:

“If there is a national Republican victory next year and it includes Oklahoma, there is no need for it to catch us Democratic legislators if we can avoid it. This separation of the ballots gives us the best protection we can provide.”

Anyone who questions the significance of this new Oklahoma brand of GOP storm-insurance needs only to refresh himself on the presidential returns in Oklahoma in 1920 and 1928, when Harding won over Cox and Hoover defeated Smith. In other words, two of the three times the country has elected Republican Presidents in the period between the World Wars, Oklahoma has voted for the Republican nominee. It is a border state with definite Southern leanings and many Southern affiliations, but it can and does go Republican for President when it takes the notion. Thus, the separate ballot for legislative nominees in Oklahoma becomes an indicator of unusual sensitivity.

A paragraph of background is in order. When

Hoover swept Oklahoma in 1928, the Democrats were turned out of a number of state posts, the losses including three seats on the State Supreme Court. The Democrats were quick to learn the lesson. They promptly put through a law separating the names of presidential electors from the nominees for state office. This seemed protection enough, and in any event there followed three Roosevelt victories in Oklahoma as well as the nation. The first time the separation was really needed was in 1942, a non-presidential year when the law did not apply. The result was that the victory of Democrat-turned-Republican Edward H. Moore for the Senate over New Dealer Josh Lee, by a majority of approximately 40,000, strengthened the Republican list all along the line and came within 11,000 votes of giving Oklahoma its first GOP Governor.

This scare sent the Democrats to the legislative halls bent on throwing up further barricades against Republican gains. The new law providing for further separation is the result. So, when the Oklahoma voter goes to his polling place in November, 1944, he will be handed four ballots: one for presidential electors; a second for nominees for the Senate and House; a third for the legislature and a fourth for the county offices. If the Republicans sweep Oklahoma, they will have to carry four ballots to do it.

There is another sign in Oklahoma well worth jotting down in the 1944 notebook. The Governor preceding Kerr was Leon S. (“Red”) Phillips, a Democrat as Governor, but a Democrat no longer. Phillips has renounced the Democratic Party and declared that he will register, work and vote as a Republican in 1944.

This is as far as Phillips has gone publicly. He is expected to be a candidate against Democratic Sen. Elmer Thomas, whose third six-year term expires next year. If this is Phillips’ plan, it was inspired by the surprise victory of Senator Moore over Josh Lee in the last congressional election. It is doubtful that Phillips can repeat the Moore performance, but his switch of parties is significant, particularly since he talked with leaders in both camps before he changed over.

Trial heats for 1944 are now shaping up in several states. New Jersey, Kentucky and Mississippi all elect Governors this fall and New York may have a special statewide election to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Lieutenant-Governor Thomas Wallace. All these will bear closest watching for signs of further reaction or a turn in favor of the administration in Washington. The chief elections thus far this year, those in the Sixth Missouri District for a seat in the national House and for the mayoralty in Chicago and in Baltimore, held anything but cheer for the Democrats.

St. Louis

IRVING DILLIARD

Washington Notes

Political Indigestion

EVERY TIME you take your eye off *The Reader's Digest* its circulation pops up a million. Just in South America alone its combined circulation is now around 1,200,000. It has a sure-fire formula of variety, information and uplift, good for a quarter in any language. It is also ardently anti-union, anti-Roosevelt and, much of the time, isolationist.

When the final balance is taken I often wonder whether the cause of liberalism finds a more serious opponent in rabid papers like *The Chicago Tribune*, *The Daily News* and the Pegler outlets, or the steady drizzle of *Reader's Digest* criticism—lawn-sprinkling the nation with eight or ten million monthly copies of 1932-Hooverism, the political credo of DeWitt Wallace, editor, owner and publisher.

You can't laugh off *Reader's Digest*; it's little, but oh my. As a matter of fact every Christmas I get at least two gift subscriptions to it, which have to be renegotiated into advance credits. For years ahead I shall be getting condensations of Herbert Hoover and Hugh Gibson, condensations of how a pleasant smile and a company union from Manager Mulligan increased output 117.2 percent at the Hankle and Huckleberry factory, condensations of how Paul de Kruif conquered locomotor ataxia and a 20-page summary of the "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," in the back book section.

But it is the political predilections of *The Digest* in which I am interested. It is fun to go through a new copy and spot the poison-pen pieces. You can make a little game of it. Divide the total pages into the total of anti-New Deal articles and then figure out the score. According to my reckoning, after a brief midseason slump *The Digest's* batting average is going up again.

Take the new August issue. At first glance there is a disappointment. No "Washington Wonderland." *The Digest* has been running this in a jolly little number called "The Withering Blight of Bureaucracy," as a serial. It is all good clean fun, culled from *Forbes*, or *Barron's Weekly*, or sources of that sort, showing how stupid and mad and incompetent everything about the government is. The August issue has one called "OPA on Stenographers' Drawers," but it isn't what you think it is, and doesn't come up to standard.

However, there is a stirring six-page send-off called "Boondoggling on a Global Basis," by Henry J. Taylor. It shows just what an awful mistake we are making in trying to pay consumptive Bolivian tin miners more money, and it points out that our hopes in the Four Freedoms which all the boys are fighting for, are "sheer political buncombe." The article is a little incoherent, but that may be because Mr. Taylor is digested. Anyway, the whole trouble in America is the "social theorists," and the "hodgepodge duplication of federal offices."

This, of course, is good, but not so good as last month's 14-page lead-off by Max Eastman attacking Russia, Churchill, Roosevelt and Joe Davies. That was a beaut. Eastman showed what a mistake communism is

because the Russians are all hungry and have low living standards. He ended with a question, "Can we save democracy?" which is the way a lot of *Digest* articles end.

On page 30 of the August issue there's a little quotation from Senator Byrd of Virginia, about federal encroachment on the states. This seems to continue his "U.S.A. v. the Frankenstein Monster" of the month before. What is the Frankenstein monster? Uncle Sam of course, silly!

I hardly know whether to include Hanson Baldwin's piece this month, on "Too Much Wishful Thinking About China," or not. I admire Mr. Baldwin, and I fear there is good deal to be said for his rather dreary picture of internal China. The article attracts attention only because of the general *Digest* policy. Last month it pointed out the seamy side of Russia; this month China. America has only one other big ally left, Britain, so *The Digest* probably will go gunning for it in September. After that it can polish off Holland, Belgium and any of the other countries whose boys are shedding their blood in the American battle.

But the real gem of the August issue is by Louis Bromfield, "We Aren't Going to Have Enough to Eat." This is calculated to send millions of scared readers straight to the Black Market. As Editor Wallace explains in his sub-head—"What muddling in Washington has done to our food supply." It seems—well, we are going to have a famine.

The Bromfield-Wallace famine is one of the most remarkable journalistic pieces in a long while—"The situation will grow worse this fall, and reach its most desperate stage this winter, especially from February on. . . . If it were possible, I would rather not think about next February. By then most of our people will be living on a diet well below the nutrition level. . . . This tragic food situation will go down as one of the most senseless scandals in American history."

The Bromfield-Wallace famine is all because the administration did "nothing whatever" until "April of this year" when it was "too late." Another thing it didn't do apparently was to give Mr. Bromfield all the machinery he wanted for his 1,500-acre farm. Of course, there's a little war on, and some people might think it better not to spread famine rumors, particularly since the latest BAE government food survey, out this week, flatly contradicts the idea at all points. But after all, though there may be a war on now, there's an election just ahead. And one can't help feeling sympathy for poor Mr. Bromfield, too. If a silence falls on the conversation; if a sad, gaunt look-of suffering suffuses his features—his friends will understand. The poor chap is trying not to think about next February.

Reader's Digest is so packed and jammed with "articles of lasting interest" that naturally it can't publish letters of reply. In a magazine so efficient as that there isn't, of course, room for the other side. Otherwise we might wonder why Mr. Bromfield condemns the administration this month for "plans for feeding the world" when just last April, in another article, Messrs. Hoover and Gibson were objecting that we were not "feeding the starving now."

But really, what difference does it make? It's all Roosevelt muddling, and the "withering blight of bureaucracy." So let us turn to other matters with a free mind and let Louis and DeWitt organize their famine. See you next February.

Washington

T. R. B.

Method in Its Badness

THE INTERESTING FACT about "Mr. Lucky," a movie worthlessly concerned with a gambler and his war problems, is that it is as creative technically as it is uncreative in all other ways—intellectually, morally and emotionally. Its unacademic approach to its disgusting story, like hitching Count Fleet to a garbage truck, does not, on the whole, lead to much. Besides the vulgarity of its story, there is a wanton trading on the talents of its star, Cary Grant, and since the technique is only grafted on to the first part of the picture, the total effect is of a bad movie. But there are some things about the technique that can be called exciting and important.

Mainly the technique takes advantage of geography—the position of a person in relation to his environment and the people occupying it with him—using distorted photography, sound and acting, and some symbolism. This produces an intrinsically cinematic form, and a three-dimensional one. For instance, when the gambler (Grant) gets entangled with the ladies and bankroll of War Relief, Inc., the entangling is a combination of architecture, pantomime and movie devices used with almost acrobatic invention, which is quite a different thing from just making speeches about entanglement. The partitions of War Relief, Inc., being of glass, you see the people talking behind them; when a door opens their voices come on the sound track, a key word or sentence is heard, disappearing with the shutting of the door; the ladies' old-hennish tendencies are shown by looking at them through the partitions as their gestures and mouthings are stylistically exaggerated. Handled like this, a situation uses all the components of a fluid medium, and the effect is a real movie one, neither theatrical nor literary.

The best and funniest things, like some business with knitting, take place inside these useful partitions, but the most interesting spots are where the action and the means of showing it are distorted not only to carry on the story but at the same time to comment on it. When Grant first makes his appearance, his walk, whistling and finger-flipping are all stepped up to the tempo of exaggeration, while the scene is shot at such an angle as to show him really cutting a swath through his world; so that we have Grant getting from one place to another and a caricature of him as Joe the Greek as well. Later there is a scene on a bench, Joe at one end, his girl at the other, with people between them. As the two of them talk, the people's heads turn back and forth rhythmically from one voice and face to the other, and while the story is carried in their dialogue, the silliness of the moving heads gets an effect of kidding the story, Joe, the girl and the people. Much of the interpretation is made with acting that is a caricature of itself (in the case of the two leads badly so, the trouble being that the smiles and eyeing extend past the idea), and with George Barnes's camera work. The latter is as good as a fine, distorted view of Grant against his slot machines, or the distortion of props and atmosphere around Charles Bickford to express, symbolically, the switchback in time from him to the story he is narrating. It is as bad, too, as a horrible moment in a cathedral when Joe kneels to pray and the lighting on his face, to show he is turning over a new leaf, changes four times.

It is possible that the awfulness of the story is what drove the producers into the rashness of using a fancy method, and at that a method which is something a movie maker can get his teeth into. In "Mr. Lucky," although H. C. Potter, the director, must have had fun, this technique fails, being wrapped around the first half of something that is very cheap, a movie which uses war and the Greeks glibly as a socially acceptable solution to its glib story of a gambler.

There is some very nice supporting work from Florence Bates, Charles Bickford (a welcome return), Gladys Cooper and Vladimir Sokoloff, as you would expect from any of them, and a promising performance from the vaudeville mimic, Allen Carney, as Joe's henchman, wonderfully named Krunk. Also, Hollywood has a discerning ability to hunt out the best of Tin Pan Alley that has been buried under the years to use for its ballroom scenes or incidental music: here it digs out "Something to Remember You By," which is a valuable service. Admirers of Cary Grant will be shocked; but after they have hardened themselves against the indecent exploitation of him, they will at least find "Mr. Lucky" interesting, like a bad salad with an intelligent dressing.

MANNY FARBER

News of Science

THE NEW SCIENCE OF ELECTRONICS is winning the war for the United Nations. To say this is no discredit to our gallant fighting men, who are showing such magnificent courage on fronts all over the world. With all respect to them, it is not courage alone that is making our gunfire so deadly accurate. It is more than courage that enables us to open battle with a Japanese fleet in the middle of a pitch-black night while the enemy's ships are still nine miles away, and sink or damage a number of them with the first salvo. Not courage alone enabled the RAF to shoot down out of the skies over London the Luftwaffe, overwhelmingly superior in numbers.

Important as electronics is in wartime, it will be equally so when peace returns. Inventions already completed, and many of them in use for war purposes, will transform our daily life in numerous and extraordinary ways. I sat in a room the other day with a group of the world's leading experts in this new and fascinating science and this in sum is what they told me:

"The coming of electronics means as much to mankind as did the coming of electricity. Because of the war emergency, we have advanced the equivalent of at least ten years in only eighteen months. New uses for the electronic tube are multiplying so rapidly that we are getting scared by the sheer size and speed of the development. There are more than 750 different types of electronic tubes already, and the number grows daily. In some cases, a single tube can be used for scores or hundreds of different purposes. There probably isn't an important mine, mill or factory in the country today that isn't employing, in some form or other, one or more electronic-tube devices. Yet today they are used only in urgent war work. A terrific expansion will take place when they are available for the manufacture of household goods.

"So far as we can judge now, the five great fields for electronics, named in the order of importance, are indus-

try, medicine, the home, radio and television. But the history of invention is full of cases where things created for one purpose turned out to have their greatest usefulness somewhere else. The sulfa drugs, for a familiar example, were produced by an inventor looking for a new dye. No one can say finally where the electronic tube will find its greatest usefulness."

The basic principles of electronics are amazingly simple, though some of the applications get complex. The heart of the mystery is a glass and metal tube which may vary in size from a tiny thing to be held in the palm of your hand to a giant five feet tall. Two electric connections are led into opposite ends of this tube, but they do not touch each other inside. Instead, there is a space between them. One of these ends, called the cathode, is negatively charged; the other, called the anode, is positive. When the cathode is heated by means of an electric current from outside, electrons—minute parts of those minute objects called atoms—detach themselves from the negative cathode and fly in unbelievable quantities and at unbelievable speed to the positive anode. There are so many and they move so rapidly that electric current is actually carried through space, inside the tube, from cathode to anode. This is the principle that, so to speak, is turning the world upside down.

In the post-war world, electronics will bring every sort of factory operation up to the highest laboratory standards of accuracy. Electric furnaces can employ heat of thousands of degrees with utmost exactness. By tubes which turn current on and off in one six-hundredth of a second, enormous heat can be concentrated in one spot, and therefore welding operations are possible that were unknown before. Sheets of steel or even aluminum airplane wings are now "stitched" together by welding at high speed and with great resulting strength. Objects of any kind can be counted faster than the eye can follow. If they could be moved rapidly enough, they could be counted at a rate of hundreds per second. Minute imperfections such as pin holes in metal can be detected, and the spot automatically marked for subsequent repair. Frozen oranges can be sorted out from good ones. As someone has said, the electronic scanner can tell a five-cent cigar from a ten-cent one.

It is possible to feed special blueprints into a machine which will cut out parts in accordance with these instructions. With such machines, one unskilled worker might take the place of five or six highly skilled men, feeding blueprints and raw materials into five or six machines at once—to make more machines. One is reminded of the brooms which kept on dividing and helped Mickey Mouse to carry water, in Walt Disney's "Fantasia."

Finished products can be inspected not only for defects in shape and size but in color. An electronic device can distinguish 2,000,000 shades.

Electronic tin plating uses only one-third as much tin and is far faster than the old type in which thin steel plates were dipped in a bath of molten tin. The resulting product is much better and more uniform—of great importance at present, when there is a critical tin shortage. Electronics is making aluminum and extracting magnesium from sea water. It is sorting out metals from one another. Painting manufactured articles such as refrigerators and automobile bodies is done quickly and perfectly with an electronic device which shoots negatively charged paint par-

ticles toward a positively charged object. With electronically controlled heat, plywood is dried in a matter of minutes instead of twenty-four hours. A special device instantly re-routes high-power electric transmission if a line is struck by lightning. Another device makes possible photographs with an exposure of only a millionth of a second.

In medicine, electronics is playing an important part which grows almost every day. Everyone knows the value of the X-ray in photographing broken bones, detecting tuberculosis and treating cancer. Diathermy, electronically induced artificial fever, has substantial importance. Rays from sterilizing lamps prevent infection on the operating table. Installed in schools, churches, theatres and hospitals, such lamps can greatly reduce air-borne diseases of all kinds. The electron microscope is a powerful new weapon in the fight against disease; it increases magnification from the former 2,000 diameters up to 100,000. The radio knife has brought about almost bloodless surgery, cauterizing the wound as fast as it cuts. A new electronic device will locate shrapnel fragments in human tissues. The ultra-violet recorder tells just how much ultra-violet light falls on any given area of the earth's surface each day, giving physicians an accurate guide in sending their patients away for a "sunshine" cure.

Parenthetically, germicidal lamps, like the "sterilamp" of the Westinghouse Company are proving a godsend to poultry raisers. Because of the food shortage, poultry production is being pushed to the utmost possible limit; yet new brooder houses are either forbidden under priorities or are ruled out by shortage of labor and materials. The answer is being found by crowding the baby chicks together far beyond the normal degree. This would be expected to produce heavy mortality from contagious diseases, but in fact, sterilizing lamps are installed in the brooder houses and the mortality rate, instead of going up, has gone sharply down.

Of much importance is the Precipitron, electronic air-cleaning device. Before entering a room, the air moves through a stream of electrons passing between two plates. Particles of dust attach themselves electrically to the electrons and fall with them. This device is being widely used in manufacturing processes where purity of air is desired. Incidentally, it removes not only dust particles but many bacteria as well, with a beneficial effect upon health. It can be used in the home to keep rooms magically clean no matter how dirty the outside air may be. A similar device can consume the smoke from factory chimneys, not only giving purer air over a city but recovering valuable by-products which were hitherto literally "going up in smoke."

For the average man, it is probably the home applications of electronics that create the greatest interest. Because of this magic tube the home of tomorrow will have a television set and a greatly improved radio and phonograph. If you live in a remote section, an electronic printer will turn out a daily newspaper in your living-room, or if you prefer, will give you news flashes in printed form all day long. "Talking books" for the blind or for others who prefer to hear rather than to read, will come in a can, a whole book on a single spool of wire, which produces sound with great faithfulness when run through an electronic device. Sterilizing lamps in the living-rooms will prevent members of the household from transmitting infectious diseases to each

other. Tiny sterilizing lamps inside your shoes in the closet will prevent the possibility of reinfection with athlete's foot. Electronics provides highly efficient burglar or fire alarms.

If anyone wants it, the engineers are prepared at this moment to turn out a lock for your front door that is released when anyone speaks the right password to it. This password is of course predetermined; it can be changed as frequently as you like, without much trouble. The magic "open sesame" of the fairy story has at last come true.

The house of the future will of course be lighted with electronic fluorescent lights, which are superior as illumination and consume substantially less current than present lights. It may be decorated with glowing phosphorescent colors, brought to life by electronic, invisible "black light." Dark staircases will be made safe with carpets impregnated with unfading phosphorescent material.

If you are summoned to the telephone in the middle of the night, the light will automatically switch itself on as you get out of bed. It will be a simple matter, if anyone wants it, to have the door of any room open automatically as you approach it, and the light go on, the process repeating itself in reverse as you leave. Probably most families would be satisfied to have only the bathroom so equipped. It is easy, of course, to equip your garage or the farmer's front gate to open when a car approaches.

It is possible that those who wish may some day dispense with bed clothing even in an unheated room in the dead of winter. Electronic warmth from a concealed source in ceiling or wall could heat your body "from the inside out" without the need of heavy bed clothes which can restrict circulation. In the daytime rooms could be kept cold and the individuals in them warm. Heating by radiation, even if only by wires buried in walls, floor or ceiling, is superior to the present system.

The parents of a young child can have a microphone by the baby's crib in the nursery and sound boxes in the mother's bedroom, the living-room and kitchen, so that any untoward noise in the nursery would be instantly detected. Gadget lovers willing to bear the expense could have a television scanning tube at the front door and a receiver at some point within the house, so that you could know who is calling before you answered the ring. (A bay window overlooking the door is just as efficient and has been used since time immemorial for this purpose.)

It will not cost much to equip your telephone with an electronic device that will record spoken messages during your absence, to be played after your return.

Electronics will play an important part in the preparation of food. By the use of penetrating rays it can be cooked after it is sealed into a can, simplifying and speeding up the packing process. Electronic cooking in your own kitchen generates no heat except in the product that is being cooked. The claim is made that by this treatment vitamins are preserved almost intact and food cooked this way is said to have superior flavor. A restaurant, as a novelty, could use electronic methods to prepare your whole meal right at the table, without raising your temperature an iota.

The new refrigerators will have a built-in bactericidal lamp which will keep food from spoiling. At present, there is so little moisture in the air in refrigerators that food dries out, but it is impossible to increase the moisture in the air because of the rapid growth of molds and bacteria. Now

for the first time, you can have a humid refrigerator without danger from bacteria. Food from other and dubious sources outside the home can be tested instantly by holding it in the rays of an electronic lamp. Any decayed surface gives off a peculiar glow. Water is instantly sterilized in the pipes by passing under the rays of an electronic lamp.

Electronics is greatly increasing safety from accidents. A tube can be installed in a factory that will instantly shut off moving machinery the moment the workman's arm—or any other part of his body—comes dangerously near. Airplane accidents such as the one in which Carole Lombard was killed are no longer necessary, thanks to radar. The pilot can know constantly how far he is from the ground or from any obstruction such as a mountainside ahead of him. Rear-end train collisions will be eliminated. A radar-equipped automobile could be driven at high speed through fog without danger either of striking another car on the road or of side-swiping a building, a pile of rocks or any other impediment by the way. (Another electronic device records in a police booth by the roadside exactly how fast your car is going.) Airplanes can now make blind landings with almost perfect safety by coming in on an electronic beam. A ship can enter a harbor in the densest fog. Icebergs can be detected at a distance.

All these marvelous things of course will not burst upon us simultaneously, even though there is nothing in this article that is not already a practicality. It will take years to bring about such sweeping changes. No doubt many people will prefer not to clutter their lives with gadgets which only add slightly to the convenience of an already convenient way of living. It is certain, however, that the industrial and medical uses of electronics will be universal within a short time, the first because they save money and the second, because they save lives.*

Remarked one of the greatest of all electronic inventors: "The march of modern science, and especially electronics, has made the fairy tales of our childhood come true. In the stories, you are able to see and hear at a distance; we can do those things. King Midas turned other substances into gold; today we can transmute metals in the laboratory. The fairy-tale people could fly through the air or travel under the water; these things are now easy. People were transformed in these tales into giants or pygmies; we can go some distance in that direction by feeding or withholding pituitary extract. Jack's magic beanstalk is only an exaggeration of colchicine treatment of vegetation. Cinderella's coach made from a pumpkin is hardly more marvelous than a plastic jewel case made from cellulose or stockings from air, water and limestone. Releasing the fairy prince from the body of an animal seems not much more wonderful than transforming a mongoloid idiot into an intelligent human being with thyroid extract and other hormone products. To compare with talking animals, we have a talking disk or a glass and tungsten tube. The speaking mirror in the story of Snow White doesn't impress me much more than a calculating machine which solves instantaneously mathematical problems that I cannot do in a week, or perhaps not at all."

To which one might add that in fairy stories, "they all lived happily ever after." Perhaps what we need is an invention—electronic or otherwise—that will do the same for mankind.

B. B.

The Bandwagon

Members of the American Federation of Teachers were barred from Oklahoma City public-school faculties in a rule adopted unanimously by the Board of Education. . . . The resolution said that the board believed membership in any labor union on the part of teachers was incompatible with the ethics and high ideals which have made teaching one of the most honored professions. — *AP dispatch from Oklahoma City.*

In this great hour of the nation there are too many experts and too few credulous hearts in important places in Germany. — *A radio broadcast from Berlin, hinting at another purge in Nazi Party ranks, as reported in The New York Times.*

When he [Hugh Johnson] was running the NRA they sent him an economist, which is the New Deal term for all book-keepers with a Communistic slant. . . . — *Westbrook Pegler in his syndicated column.*

Praise from Sir Hubert

On the way home I finished Louise Randall Pierson's "Roughly Speaking." There were moments when I felt weary. So much abounding energy went into her life that when her first husband moved to the Yale Club, I almost echoed his sigh of relief. — *Eleanor Roosevelt in her syndicated column.*

Democracy in Action

Like the North, buses in the South are crowded to capacity and Servicemen have first call, as should be the case. Colored

people get a rather tough break as they are not expected to board a bus until soldiers and white civilians are accommodated. As a result they are often left stranded along the highways or in bus terminals. This practice probably would not please Mrs. Roosevelt, but evidently Southerners know best how to handle the color problem. — *Arthur S. Morris in The Littleton (N.H.) Courier.*

Twitchell, the People's Friend

I was keenly interested in the article on the King of Arabia. It parallels much that I have had personally from Mr. K. S. Twitchell, whom you mention in the article. Much of the good will between our nation and Arabia is the result of his efforts to be of service to Arabians. It was through him that the Standard Oil Company of California received their large oil concessions. — *From a letter in Life.*

Total-War Department

What good is food to an exhausted doughboy in the Solomons? . . . What good is oil to a tank with dry bearings? . . . What good is cool water to a wounded soldier in the hot sands of Tunisia? . . . What good is a rubber raft to airmen forced down on the endless expanse of the Pacific?

What good are these things? Just good enough to save life itself.

And that is the good golf does in a nation at war as we are at war. — *L. B. Icely, president of the Wilson Sporting Goods Company, in The Social Spectator, a révolt magazine.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; \$1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. — THE EDITORS

Correspondence

Congress and the Pacifists

SIR: Small, but significant, additional evidence that the last congressional session was one of the most reactionary sittings in recent history is a rider which was attached late in June to the \$71,000,000,000 War Department appropriations bill. Illustrative of Congress' punitive attitude toward minorities and blind unconcern about the post-war world, this rider prevents drafted pacifists from training or serving in foreign-reconstruction projects under the Selective Service Administration.

With the passage of the rider, about 240 pacifists who were training, or about to train, for reconstruction in four *privately financed* projects will soon return to the relatively unimportant work (such as post-hole digging) which has been the lot of most drafted conscientious objectors in this war. Groups of men who were preparing to ship out for reconstruction service in China are among those who will return to CCC-type camps or mental-hospital projects.

In one fell swoop, Congress stopped pacifist men of good will from working in the most constructive channels they can follow while still opposing the methods of war. Paradoxically, this congressional action also works partially to mollify pacifists by relegating them to jobs which are both insignificant and safe. As viewed by pacifists in this country, reconstruction work offered an opportunity to perform vital tasks under hazardous conditions comparable to those faced by army men in wartime.

Supporting The New Republic's thesis that the last congressional elections were but portents of future reactionary legisla-

tion, it is significant that the rider against pacifist reconstruction service was introduced by Rep. Joe Starnes. Starnes is a member of the Dies Committee, was elected from poll-tax Alabama and follows the Southern Democratic line. Only vigorous political efforts by liberal labor, white-collar and agrarian groups can prevent such men as Starnes from wreaking further havoc in Congress.

Cheltenham, Md.

JOHN HANKS

Deductions at the Source

SIR: Several weeks ago, I noted in The New Republic an editorial to the effect that there would be a series of loud complaints from taxpayers when the new "withholding" tax law became fully understood. I have carried out a few percentage calculations from the official table of deductions published in the newspapers, and it seems to me that the results are worth howling about.

The table of deductions as published carried the caption: "The deduction . . . will approximate the income and Victory taxes which the wage or salary earner would have had to pay next year had the old plan not been changed." To anyone with an ability to divide, the fallacy of that statement should be apparent.

Deductions, according to the table, are calculated over ten-dollar jumps in weekly salary, that is, a wage earner earning \$29.99 a week pays the same tax as does a man earning \$20. This means that the man earning \$20 pays a higher percentage tax than the man earning \$29.99.

Above \$200 a week, the tax is a straight 20 percent. As wages decrease the percentage deducted begins to vary somewhat within each ten-dollar bracket. This variation increases as salaries decrease until a \$10-a-week bus boy pays 25 percent while his underpaid helper loses only 10 percent of his \$9.99 salary.

The whole system seems inequitable on at least two counts:

1. In the first place, the average 20 percent of gross income is not, or certainly should not be, a fair approximation of the final tax, except over a very narrow edge. The president of a large corporation, earning, say, \$1,500 a week, will have to pay considerably more than 20 percent at the end of the year, while the filing clerk earning \$16 a week will not have to pay the full 20 percent.

2. In the second place, the step-wise character of the deductions sets up startling inconsistencies in the take-home pay of workers in adjoining brackets, particularly in the lower income groups where the inconsistencies are most violent and where they can do the most harm.

Take for instance, two men, both married, but claiming none of the allowed exemption. One earns \$20 and pays \$4.50, leaving him with \$15.50, while the other, earning \$19, pays \$3.50, leaving him with \$15.50 too. Now certainly, the man earning \$20 a week will have to pay more taxes at the end of the year than his \$19 neighbor, but the difference will not be equal to the difference in the amount withheld (\$52).

This means that the Treasury is just going to have to pay back some of this at the end of the year, but meanwhile, the wage earner doesn't have the money to use, even though he may get it back later.

The opposite effect occurs in the higher wage brackets. There, a man will have withheld much less than his tax, and will have, therefore, excess money to invest for profit until the end of the year. To be sure, the amount thus gained may be unimportant, but it seems to me that the principle is atrocious.

I am not objecting to the size of taxes in general—we ought to have more taxation and less borrowing, but I do think that this particular method is a form of regressive taxation designed to hit the poor harder than the rich, and as such, it is a disgrace to our American Democracy.

The man hardest hit, of course, is the dollar-a-year man, who, according to my calculations, would pay his entire salary and still owe the government \$51 a year!

Princeton, N. J.

KENNETH D. MILLER JR.

SIR: Mr. Miller's conclusions are based on apparent misconceptions regarding the provisions of the Current Tax Payment Act of 1943.

That act does not change tax rates or exemptions. Rather, it provides a new method for paying the individual income tax. Thus, withholding is *not* a "tax" but merely a convenient method of payment. The rate of withholding has no effect on the tax liability. Amounts withheld are applied against the tax liability, and any over-collection is refunded, while any under-collection calls for additional payments. Since withholding is not a tax, it cannot be "a form of regressive taxation."

Nor is it accurate to say that those in higher wage brackets have "excess money to invest for profit until the end of the year." To the extent that taxes are not withheld at source, they are payable quarterly on the basis of declarations of current income.

Mr. Miller's assertion that "the average 20 percent of gross income is not, or certainly should not be, a fair approximation of the final tax . . ." reflects a misunderstanding of the withholding system. The 20-percent withholding rate applies not to the gross wage, but only to the wage after the deduction of the withholding exemption. The amount withheld from the \$16-

a-week clerk who is single and has no dependents is not 20 percent of his gross wage but only 6.9 percent. The amount withheld from his wage of \$832 for the year will be \$57.20. His tax for the year will be \$50.80 (assuming allowable deductions of \$82). He will receive a refund of \$6.40.

Mr. Miller refers to the "startling inconsistencies in the take-home-pay" under the withholding system. He fails to state that his busboy example is valid only for a "married person claiming none of the personal exemption." If his busboy were single and had no dependents, there would be no withholding on a \$9.99 weekly wage and only 10 cents per week on the \$10 wage.

This is not to deny that the bracket method of withholding produces "inconsistencies." The withholding rates represent a necessary compromise between precision and the requirements of administrative simplicity. Wide wage brackets are necessary to minimize the payroll work of employers, who are performing a public service without compensation. The wide brackets will inconvenience some taxpayers. However, taxpayers get full credit for amounts withheld, and year-end adjustments will rarely be very large. Occasional inconvenience seems a small price to pay to minimize the drain on scarce manpower and payroll equipment.

RANDOLPH E. PAUL

Washington, D. C. General Counsel, Treasury Department

Government Aid to Health

SIR: In your wholesome editorial (June 12) on the medical provisions of the Wagner bill are a few errors of fact; especially the concluding statement that the indigent would be excluded from medical services under the act. The bill (Secs. 910, 966) specifically authorizes arrangements between the national authorities and state and local governments, such that persons for whose medical care these governments are providing would be brought into the same system of medical care as would apply to the self-supporting population.

"Laboratory and other special services" could not be limited, as the editorial states, "at the discretion of those who dispense them." Any restrictions and any special payments for doctors' calls, could be imposed only under regulations formally adopted by the national bodies administering this section of the act—the Public Health Service and the Social Security Board.

New York City

MICHAEL M. DAVIS

[One great weakness of the Wagner bill is the looseness and confusion of its construction. Although Section 910 appears to provide medical care for public charges as *non-insured*, it merely sets up machinery whereby public agencies or communities may finance it. Dr. Davis assumes that the mere existence of this machinery guarantees community cooperation. Section 915, however, is quite specific as to who shall be considered as insured when it states ". . . an individual shall be deemed 'currently insured' if he had during his eligibility period been paid wages of (a) not less than \$150, and (b) not less than \$50 for each of not less than two calendar quarters." It is apparent that the indigent are directly eliminated by this provision, except for the beneficence of some public or private agency willing to underwrite their care.

Our editorial pointed out that the bill's provisions which set up an advisory committee in no way prevent recapture of the committee by entrenched medical interests, whose influence is bound to define the limit of the benefits. Furthermore, initiative for surcharges can come only from the medical personnel, subject to review by bodies it may influence—not from the patients or the communities.

It appears desirable to correct or shore up these confusing points and other weaknesses in the bill before congressional debate opens. A compromise looking toward a strong bill is preferable to a bill that attempts to appease. — THE EDITORS]

Canada's Health Program

SIR: Thanks from Canada for your highly complimentary statement that, "In particular [the U. S. has] no comprehensive health program such as Canada has worked out" ("Government Aid to Health," July 12).

Canada's "comprehensive program," in terms of organization and results, can be summed up this way: (1) No national social-security law. The 1935 Employment and Social Insurance Act was found unconstitutional. Its health provisions were much more feeble than those of the Murray-Wagner bill. (2) Fewer city and county clinics per unit of population than the United States. (3) Saskatchewan has advanced furthest with the municipal doctor program. One-fifth of the municipalities had them by 1938 (latest data available). (4) Only two provinces, Saskatchewan and Alberta, provide free treatment of tuberculosis for all residents. Only two provinces, Saskatchewan and Ontario, provide the necessary facilities for meeting "the ordinary accepted standards at the present time" (this and following quoted sentences are taken from the 1943 Report to the House of Commons Committee on Social Services). Tuberculosis death rate is higher than in the United States. (5) "The situation in regard to mental diseases in Canada is grave." (6) "The maternal death rate in Canada is high—and it is considered that by the adoption of adequate maternal services the death rate could be more than cut in half." (7) Group health services no more widely available than in the United States. (8) The Canadian Medical Association, in sharp contrast to the AMA, favors far-reaching public measures for providing medical services.

Rather than describing a comprehensive health program, the above characterizes a situation which can surely arouse little pride in Canadians, and one which we can hope will be strikingly improved.

Billings Bridge, Ontario, Can.

DAVID L. MACFARLANE

The Tragedy of European Labor

SIR: In Mr. Ehrmann's otherwise friendly review of my book "The Tragedy of European Labor," in your issue of June 7, he creates an erroneous impression which I am anxious to dispel. Mr. Ehrmann seems to believe that I am advising labor against acting as a pressure group, and he warns against the "rigid adherence" to a formula "which might cut the very roots of labor's strength." Actually, and I might add obviously, I do nothing of the sort. I would think it nonsensical and hopelessly foolish to believe that the organized labor movement could be persuaded not to use its power for its aims. The essence of my book was that pressure-group action *alone* was not enough to achieve labor's aims and that it ought to be developed into what I define as "constructive political action."

Finally, if labor had failed because it lacked the power to do the right thing, although it knew what to do, as Mr. Ehrmann claims, how does this agree with his own statement that labor had such programs, "at least from the time of the great depression"? This confirms the main thesis of my book, namely that European labor began in the thirties gradually to develop its own solutions, but by then the catastrophe had already occurred.

ADOLF F. STURMTHAL

Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, N. Y.

SIR: While labor's programs became more articulate in the thirties, comprehensive proposals for "labor's own solutions" were developed in the immediate post-war period. All the elements of the French "plan" of 1934-36 were contained in the blueprint drawn fifteen years earlier. Therefore it seems that what Mr. Sturmthal calls the "main thesis" of his book is not upheld by the facts.

The "erroneous impression" which Mr. Sturmthal is anxious to dispel in regard to his conception of labor as a pressure group, was created by the author's repeated warnings that labor's action on this plane constitutes a threat to the functioning of the democratic process.

Washington, D. C.

HENRY W. EHLMANN

Government Ownership of Coal

SIR: With reference to the proposal for government ownership and management of the coal mines in this country (The New Republic, May 10, "What to Do About Coal"), you might be interested to know that many of the coal mines in the Netherlands were operated by the government, and, what is more important, with great success. . . . These mines are supposed to be among the best in the world from a technical as well as from an economic and social point of view.

The mine I visited was air-conditioned and electrically lighted throughout. The miners digging the coal were very close to one another and to a telephone, which removed all feeling of isolation and increased the chance of rescue in case of accidents. The locomotives were driven by compressed air to avoid the danger of fires. Most of the coal, of which nothing was wasted (not even the dust), was shipped by boat to the centers of consumption. The government had its own selling agency. The government had provided the miners with excellent and attractive houses. To improve hygienic conditions, all miners were compelled to take shower baths after leaving the mine.

It seems to me that a study of these mines might be worthwhile. Undoubtedly plenty of literature both in English and Dutch is available in American libraries. In addition, the Netherlands Information Bureau, 10 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, might give some valuable information.

Bethesda, Md.

T. W. L. SCHELTEMA

From The New Republic Mail Bag

The Detroit Public Library, shortly after the race riots, published a leaflet, a copy of which they have sent us, addressed as follows, to the Citizens of Detroit: "The events of the week of June 20 charge every one of us with the responsibility of examining our own beliefs, conduct and expressions so that the common effort of all will insure that the inalienable rights of man never again be so trampled." The leaflet contains short quotations on racial intolerance and discrimination from Abraham Lincoln, Franz Boas, E. A. Hooton, Wendell Willkie and many others, and presents a reading list of books and publications on race questions, headed by Carey McWilliams' "Brothers Under the Skin." We are informed that the leaflet met with an enthusiastic response from the citizens of Detroit, and that thousands of copies have been printed and distributed. The New Republic extends its heartiest congratulations to the Detroit Public Library on taking a step which all other cultural and educational institutions might well follow.

Charles T. Coffin, of Puposky, Minnesota, tells us that since the Farmer-Labor Party is pretty well a thing of the past, folks up his way are turning to the Farmers' Union as a way out for the family-sized farms in northern Minnesota, which must compete with factory-sized, well equipped farms. Mr. Coffin expresses his approval of The New Republic's position on the farm and food problem.

"A Reader" in New York City writing apropos of Malcolm Cowley's article on Louis Aragon [The New Republic, July 5] points out that war poetry has been flourishing in Russia. In view of this fact he takes issue with Mr. Cowley for calling Aragon the only war poet the United Nations possess and goes on to mention the achievements of Russian poets.

Books in Review

Victor Hugo, Myth Maker

THE "BUBBLE REPUTATION" shines with iridescent colors only when you look at it from the right position. In a poor light it goes dull and seems not even worth pricking. For Victor Hugo, the light has long been absent from critical opinion, and it comes as a shock to find it suddenly aglow. The fires of war and world revolution have reilluminated a supposedly dead star. "It is good again in these times," says Mr. Matthew Josephson, "to think of Victor Hugo." French exiles in London who ten years since would have sneered at "that old impostor, Victor Hugo," now quote him with respect: they have found out that he too saw France invaded, that he too struggled in mind and body with the problems of peace, poverty and politics, that he too was once an exile. And as we on this side of the Atlantic talk ourselves into a truer and truer belief that civilization is bound up with the welfare of the common man, we discover that in the dim Victorian past—dim because we have heard so much about it—a book was published called "Les Misérables."

In issuing a handy one-volume edition with a splendid essay by Mr. Josephson,¹ the publishers have had a praiseworthy and, I should like to think, a profitable idea. But as too often happens, they have spoiled it by half-measures. I do not refer to what they call on the jacket "streamlining" the novel, though even in the task of cutting it down by half they have not always taken care to make all connections clear nor to preserve some of the finest strokes of Hugo's genius. All this is a trifle compared to the sin of serving up as "designed for modern reading" an old translation which is seldom exact, often badly mistaken and repeatedly illiterate and unintelligible. The low point is reached on page 224, where Hugo uses a few innocent phrases of thieves' slang, which the translator merely reprints in italics, with English pronouns tacked on and auxiliary verbs missing.

Bad translation is of course the great barrier that has always stood between the intelligent English or American reader and nineteenth-century French novels, and bad translation has been particularly hard on Hugo. He has always been made to talk an incredibly dull *lingua franca*, uniform from the first word to the last. In reality, his dialogue is closely molded upon the speech of those he portrays; more so than either the dialogue of Balzac, who gives character through substance rather than tone; or that of Flaubert, who until "Pécuchet" adhered to a transparent neutral prose for himself and his people. Hugo is indeed more superficial than these two in his portrayals, but superficial means surface, and the surface in Hugo is artistically satisfying and realistically true. Leaving aside the author's comments upon his story, which sound too oracular for our taste, note in the original of "Les Misérables"

the varied expressions used by the Bishop on various occasions, those of his servant, of Marius' grandfather, of the several children in the novel or of the Smerdiakov-like Thénardier. Every word is as perfectly in tune with what may be heard to this day in Paris or the provinces as it is out of tune with the revolting novelese that the English translator spreads upon the page.

But the meaning of Hugo is not in surface alone, and when one ranks him below the psychological novelists whose principles have dominated fiction for the last hundred years, one is making a false comparison. Traits of character are not lacking in his work—witness his observation of Mlle. Gillenormand, the old maid of "immodest modesty" who takes pleasure in having her neck chafed by the gold braid on her handsome nephew's uniform when he embraces her. There are hundreds of comparable touches throughout the novel, but they are buried, or rather outweighed by other things in which Hugo is more interested—crowds, places, ideas, broad and (to him) permanent moral truths. Hugo's characters are persons in that they have recognizable accents, occupations, habits and antecedents, but they are at the same time more and less than persons. On the larger side of their nature they embody principles and approach allegory: the Police Inspector, Javert, is narrow rectitude, to set off Jean Valjean, who is true goodness; that is to say, goodness won from evil and through evil, with temptation ever present in a sense that Javert experiences only once, and that once fatally to himself.

On the smaller side, Hugo's persons are pegs on which to hang a staggering amount of observation, analogy, history, wit, preaching and verbal virtuosity. It is the smaller side that bulks so large—if I may so put it—and that legitimately tires the modern reader accustomed to taking his various literary medicines in separate bottles. In the original, the Bishop of Digne is "sketched" in approximately 20,000 words; in the condensed version, where he still looms large, he is polished off in 8,500. In the original, Hugo's views on Waterloo furnish matter for nineteen sections, here cut to eleven pages, or less than a third. Faced with so much substance, most of it objective, we may feel with Virginia Woolf how indispensable it was to rid fiction of furniture. Hugo has obviously been accumulating stores for a lifetime in order to dump them into one grand warehouse miscalled a novel. No doubt a spring cleaning was unavoidable—but only for Virginia Woolf and her contemporaries, not for Hugo and his. For it will not do to forget the art of vast structures, the building of a form which does not merely contain but organizes all the furniture. I mean of course the art of plot. And here again, the easy judgment is a superficial one. Hugo's plots, like those of Balzac and Dickens—and, nearer to us, those of E. M. Forster—are not artlessness nor bad art; they are plots, that is, they are contrivances to hold and present the world in the novelist's head. The discontinuities of the real world are not denied, but they are exhibited in a frame—a frame on which can be read various inscriptions, the moral and

¹Les Misérables. Designed to Be Read as a Modern Novel. Translated by Charles E. Willbourn. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 502 pages. \$2.75.

social comments of an author whose criticism of life is explicit as well as plotted in. To make a jump, one can say that the melodrama of Hugo is basically not different from the melodrama of Henry James, but Hugo works in the medieval manner, with the characters labeled and the moral—even when new—drawn from the common fund of symbols. James works in the modern manner, the Symbolist-Impressionist manner, with the moral fashioned of new symbols and discoverable only by individual research: from the pattern presented each reader finds “the figure in the carpet.”

Our generation having been born in the atmosphere of Symbolism, it seems to us as if all the subtlety, all the art lay in the implied Jamesian way. Hugo seems crude, ignorant, overassertive. Hence our feeling of shock when events apparently unrelated to artistic method, like the collapse of Europe, bend our unwilling necks over Hugo's pages and force us to admit that his great lumber rooms—as we thought them—are alive with a true humanity. There are two explanations for this recovery, or two ways of putting one and the same explanation. First, Hugo came out of a revolutionary era. His mind and art matured, as Mr. Josephson has superbly shown in his biography, in the midst and with the aid of world-shaking events. It may surprise the spiritual isolationist to learn that during the last fifteen years of Hugo's life, from 1870 to 1885, he saw the beginnings of a genuine French fascism, born of defeat and ultimately compounded of a drive for colonies, a youth movement, anti-Semitism, and the exaltation of war, statehood and dictatorship.

Historically, then, Hugo came out of revolutionary and Napoleonic turmoil and, threading his way through liberalism and democracy, science and socialism, barely reached the time of lull that favored the somewhat unsocial art of the Symbolists and Decadents. Though 1914 broke that lull, the compromise of 1920 merely gained a deferment which expired twenty years later. Our eyes could then be opened to the facts and feelings out of which a book like “*Les Misérables*” came into being. Turn to Chapter XV of the “streamlined” version and read Hugo's account of the five young revolutionists steeling themselves for the abortive struggle of 1832. Is it in twentieth-century Spain, in Russia or in Occupied France that they have come to life again? Wherever it is, Hugo saw them first.

They live on the printed page even though they are carved with a hatchet and not lingered over. After their concise introduction, they act. Which brings us to the second reason for Hugo's mysterious resurrection after a few passes from Clio's practised hands. We had forgotten something: the fine-chiseled work to which we have too exclusively given the name of art in latter days is wonderful indeed, but it presupposes the previous art of the Hugos, Dickens, Balzacs and George Eliots. I do not mean that the later comers improved a product in rough finish. Not at all. But they were able to take for granted the whole moral world, the form and color of active life, and even the conventions of the novel, which the earlier writers had created or objectified, and implanted into all our minds.

Though less intricate, the texture of the earlier novelists, including Dumas, implies a skill of its own. I am glad to find Mr. Josephson not afraid to say that Hugo still has secrets to show our living novelists, just as Henry James

was not afraid to say ten years before his death that in fiction all the roads lead back to Balzac. We can generalize and say that since the French Revolution, all the traveled roads in art lead back to Romanticism. Mr. Josephson has found in Hugo's work many direct insights of a kind we should now call Freudian. But we have yet to find a word describing the art that moves us so much in the story of Jean Valjean's conversion to the good life. Do not trust your grammar-school recollection of the incident—it is a series of incidents, and very strange. What went on in the man's mind? We do not know; it is better that we should not know, not only better art, but better philosophy, since every explanation would be false. As art, it has the rightness and the power of the myth.

JACQUES BARZUN

Hitler to Franco to Us

Falange: The Axis Secret Army in the Americas, by Allan Chase. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 278 pages. \$3.

IF “FALANGE” HAS THE FORCE, speed and suspense of a Hitchcock movie, it is not because Mr. Chase has consciously striven for dramatic effect. The facts with which he deals, like so many facts of our time, are essentially melodramatic. One of the main difficulties involved in arousing the American people to the real menace of fascism has always consisted in creating a new style of reporting that could relate sensational facts so as to carry conviction to a public long conditioned to discount sensational journalism. Even in this particular case, more restraint, including a calculated understatement, might possibly have carried a larger measure of conviction.

The story can be quickly summarized. The Nazi conquest of Spain was part of a scheme of world conquest. To the Nazis, the Iberian Peninsula represented the key to the Mediterranean and, in a sense, to the Atlantic; it was also the perfect flank for France. “Spain,” as Hermann Göring remarked, “is the key to two continents.” It was also envisaged as a source of important raw materials. But overshadowing these considerations was the brilliant concept of Spain as the key to Latin America and, for that matter, to such former outposts of Spanish rule as the Philippines. Gen. Wilhelm von Faupel, the master-mind of Nazi intrigue in Spain, realized years ago that the real lever in Latin American affairs was not Pan-Americanism, with such slogans as “Latin America for the Latin Americans,” but rather Hispanidad, with “the permanent and vigorous cry: “*Arriba España!*”

Not only could this theme (however cynically the Nazis themselves may have regarded it) tap such important factors as tradition, language and religion, but it had other far more important strategic advantages. For example, it permitted a strict authoritarian control of the campaign for Latin America by the Nazis (a Pan-American movement might conceivably have gotten out of hand). By their control of the puppet Franco regime, and of the Falange itself, the Nazis knew that their dictation could not be challenged. This type of agitation, moreover, was well calculated to appeal to the landed Spanish aristocracy throughout Latin America, a group tied to Spain and Franco by strong economic connections, such as heavy investments in Spain and the export-import trade. It also permitted von Faupel to

put the Spanish fascists to work—to use them. At the same time, the whole scheme seemed so fantastic that even those aware of the pretentious claims made by Franco to all the former Spanish possessions were inclined to dismiss the agitation as absurd. But once grant the essential fact that Franco means Hitler, and the scheme fits the Nazi pattern perfectly. Once the Japanese, Italian and German consulates were closed, the Nazi-controlled Spanish consulates took over the direction of espionage activities. The closing of the Axis consulates, according to Mr. Chase, did not eliminate more than five percent of the Nazi espionage in Latin America. There are today some 14,763 agents of SIM—the Spanish Military Intelligence—operating between the Rio Grande and Patagonia. In Mexico City alone some thousand Gestapo-trained agents function out of eleven offices in the capital. As a matter of fact, the entire concept of the role to be played by the Falange was planned by the Nazis with exactly this contingency in mind. It was for this reason that they conquered Spain before launching the Second World War; it was also for this reason that they lost no time, after 1936, in training thousands of Spaniards, and some Latin Americans, in special Gestapo schools in Spain and Germany. Since 1939 they have been transporting these agents, in Spanish vessels, to Latin America at the rate of about 500 per month.

This typically grandiose Nazi stratagem was premised upon one major assumption, namely, that our State Department would continue to appease the Franco regime which we had recognized with such indecent haste. The Nazi handling of the so-called problem of Spanish “neutrality” has, indeed, been their greatest diplomatic triumph of the war. To this day, our State Department continues to treat the Spanish Republicans as political lepers. It still prevents Mr. Biddle from exposing the Sinarquista movement in the United States. By continuing to appease Franco, it is spreading utter demoralization and confusion among the peoples of Latin America.

The argument which Mr. Chase makes in favor of an immediate termination of relations with Spain is, in fact, completely unanswerable. It is an utterly damning indictment of our scandalous policy toward Spain since 1936. By permitting Spain to remain “neutral,” we have made it possible for Hitler to get more oil than he got by the conquest of all Europe. By maintaining relations with Spain, we have given Hitler important submarine bases on the Mediterranean and the Atlantic; made it possible for him to obtain from Spain and Portugal, and by import through Spain, invaluable stores of raw materials; and we have permitted the continuance of a worldwide Nazi-controlled espionage system which has done the United Nations cause vast damage. By delaying the termination of relations with Spain, we have prolonged the war, and the longer the war is prolonged the more precarious the situation becomes in Latin America. To such an extent is this true that the closing of all Spanish consulates in the Americas today would not, of itself, check espionage and sabotage. For in Mexico the Sinarquista movement, also Nazi inspired, has a membership of around 500,000.

If anything short of dynamite, fuse caps and a match can jar the complacency of the State Department, it should be this book.

CAREY MCWILLIAMS

Naval Review

America's Navy in World War II, by Gilbert Cant. New York: The John Day Company. 432 pages. \$3.75.

GILBERT CANT, war correspondent, military editor of The New York Post and author of “The War at Sea,” has produced as fine a piece of current war history as this reviewer has read.

The volume opens with some plain speaking on the subject of naval censorship. The author is severely critical of the Navy Department's news policy. He finds that policy “so restrictive as to suggest the suppression of information in a totalitarian dictatorship rather than the maintenance of military security in a democracy.”

The American people “who bought and paid for” the navy, “manned its ships and filled their magazines,” know less about what their navy is doing than do our enemies. In consequence, the average citizen finds “it almost impossible to form a considered judgment of the American navy's role in the first year of full participation in the Second World War.”

The task which the author sets for himself is to provide this needed over-all view of the navy in action. He brings to this task a high standard of scholarship and criticism. He has sifted communiqués, eye-witness stories and all other available evidence. He has consulted with the officers of several navies. From all this he has put together a brilliant narrative which makes absorbing reading. His style is dignified and unemotional. And so skillful is his literary technique that the story seems to tell itself.

This story begins with a sketch of American naval operations during the period of neutrality abruptly terminated by the attack on Pearl Harbor. It closes with the victory on Guadalcanal. In between are graphic accounts—many of them the best so far published—of the attack on Pearl Harbor; the desperate “fighting retreat” from Manila through the Indonesian seas to Australia; the “hit and run” raids on Japan's Pacific outposts; the Doolittle raid; the Coral Sea “battle beyond the horizon”; the Midway victory; the fighting around the Aleutians; our submarine war on enemy shipping; the battle for the Atlantic; the Mediterranean campaign; and finally the naval actions accompanying the struggle for Guadalcanal.

One thread running through the whole book is the crucial importance of coordinated operations. Failure to achieve effective coordination among land, sea and air forces, the author reiterates, has cost many valuable ships and more valuable lives. He is particularly impatient with the ship v. plane controversy.

“In a little more than a minute,” he observes, “a nine-gun [heavy] cruiser can fire eight salvos of 256-pound shells—as much steel and explosive as a squadron of eighteen carrier-based bombers can take on a single mission. And the bombers can execute only one or two missions a day, whereas the guns can fire intermittently for hours. This is no argument against airplanes; it is simply an argument, and the final, irrefutable argument, in favor of the big gun wherever it can be brought to bear. The trouble is there are too many places where it cannot be brought to bear.” That is the issue in a nutshell.

The book is profusely illustrated with action photographs.

There are numerous battle diagrams prepared by the author. There is a list of service decorations awarded to the end of 1942, a list of American naval ships lost during that period and a careful estimate of Japanese naval losses during the same time.

This book is required reading for every American citizen who desires to know how his navy is helping to win the war.

HAROLD SPROUT

Melodrama and Metaphysics

The Conspiracy of the Carpenters: Historical Accounting of a Ruling Class, by Hermann Borchardt. Translated by Barrows Mussey. Foreword by Franz Werfel. New York: Simon and Schuster. 634 pages. \$2.75.

THIS IS AN ENORMOUS NOVEL packed with incident, character, conflict, symbol, metaphor and direct preachment; it is both an exciting story and a complex analysis of the modern world, sometimes so obscure we are not certain where the author is taking us.

Franz Werfel's introduction gives us welcome guidance; with this and the complete attention the book amply deserves we can follow the main line of story and sermon clearly enough. It also helps if we abandon at the start all lazy clichés about what a novel is supposed to be and read this one for what it is: a new kind of narrative, demanded by the times, in which fiction, history and allegory are thoroughly fused into a new form. In an age of extreme violence and values, Borchardt was right in founding his book on melodrama and metaphysics.

The action takes place, we are told, in a country that might have been but wasn't Germany; its chief villain is a false prophet who might have been but wasn't Hitler; its major theme is the "central heresy of our times"—material progress.

From this point of departure, the brilliant, swift, dramatic narrative emerges before long as a just and crushing indictment of contemporary morality. The minor pleasure of reading this as a *roman à clef* must be left to those intimately acquainted with German life. The rest of us can share the far greater pleasure of reading a universal story about the fall and regeneration of a modern republic almost anywhere today and the worldwide struggle between good and evil.

The protagonist of evil is Dr. Urban, universal type of demagogue who battles ruthlessly for the enslavement of the human spirit and its total subordination to arbitrary secular power. The protagonist of good is Adam Faust, "fox of God" and conservative aristocrat determined to destroy Antichrist-Urban by force. In this gigantic moral and political war, old Adam pursues his aim through the Carpenters, a secret Christian brotherhood.

Much of the novel is written with merciless dead-pan irony which spares nothing and nobody in the modern world except the Carpenters, who are really not of it. The heaviest assault is upon the Enlightenment, science, capitalism, socialism, communism and the intelligentsia, upon everything in the past three centuries which has furthered what is generally regarded as progress. The story surges with industrial and political conflict, intrigue that stirs the fantasy and unveils the darkest abysses of contemporary

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reality, love on the loftiest and lowest levels and murder in every degree. At the same time memos, letters and testaments running through the narrative insistently preach "the conservative commonwealth," a perpetual league of autonomous brotherhoods which is Christian while "all else is an eclipse of the true light."

What the world needs today, we are told, is a revival of an ideal Middle Ages, a social order frankly authoritarian and despotic but which gives men freedom and justice because it is administered by self-appointed "gendarmes of the Lord."

Our era has often been compared to Metternich's and it is not surprising that some of our literature is in the spirit of Chateaubriand's "Genius of Christianity," whose logical offspring are Joseph de Maistre and the Grand Inquisitor.

In its transvaluation of values Borchardt's novel is profoundly reactionary. But you are not obliged to accept the idealization of the Middle Ages or the myth that since the Reformation the world has been going progressively to the dogs. You do not have to believe that the Golden Age was that of the Hohenstaufens, that it is possible or desirable to recapture it or that it was less turbulent, cruel and immoral than our own. In spite and because of everything, the twentieth century is in actual achievement the greatest and best of them all, and its premises and promises are prodigious.

But when you have recognized and rejected the reactionary conclusions of this novel, you can still admire the dramatic saga of our age and the subtle insight into its moral sickness. It is up to the writers with more progressive viewpoints to employ a similar fusion of fiction, history and allegory for other purposes. Our epic era requires epic forms, and the repudiation of medieval ideals and theocracies does not free us from the obligation to find and realize a genuine morality for our time. JOSEPH FREEMAN

A Reader's List

WHAT AMERICA MEANS TO ME, by Pearl S. Buck (John Day, \$2). This slim volume brings together sixteen speeches and addresses written and delivered since the spring of 1942 on the intricate subject of inter-racial hostility. For Miss Buck, the true meaning of today's war lies in the conflicting concepts of national supremacy and the struggle for equality. Recognizing that the only hope for an enlightened world rests on mutual understanding between and among all peoples, she challenges us to declare our interdependence. As Americans, she feels we are especially gifted in the qualities which produce democracy—more so than any other people.

PLANNING NO. 208: International Air Transport (Political and Economic Planning. Available through The New Republic, 25 cents). In its latest broadsheet, PEP discusses "the most international of services," a realm in which the shortcomings of nationalism and uncontrolled competition are comparatively easy to demonstrate. Though the theoretical ideal of complete freedom of the air would permit a maximum of progress in international air transport, even its most ardent advocates must be aware of such restrictive factors as the possibility of air-espionage, traffic chaos and the abiding spectre of profit. PEP wisely limits itself to making out an unshakable case for a practicable amount of international control and describing its possible machinery.

BRAZIL IN THE MAKING, by José Jobim (Macmillan, \$3.50). An introductory survey of Brazil's economy by the secretary to that country's Coördinator of Economic Mobilization. Brazil can produce practically all the raw materials we formerly obtained from Asia (except tin and sufficient rubber) but Señor Jobim emphasizes a recent industrial growth that will surprise American readers. The Vargas regime (and Jobim, its orthodox interpreter) seems carried away by a passion for national self-sufficiency hardly in complete accord with hopes for a rational post-war world economy.

Contributors

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CAREY MCWILLIAMS' latest book is "Brothers Under the Skin," published this spring by Little, Brown and Company. He was California Commissioner of Immigration and Housing until a Republican Governor was elected.

HAROLD SPROUT is an associate professor of Political Science at Princeton University. He is secretary of the American Military Institute and co-author (with Margaret Sprout) of "The Rise of American Naval Power" and "Toward a New Order of Sea Power."

JOSEPH FREEMAN is the author of "Never Call Retreat," recently published by Farrar and Rinehart. It was reviewed in the March 22 issue of The New Republic.